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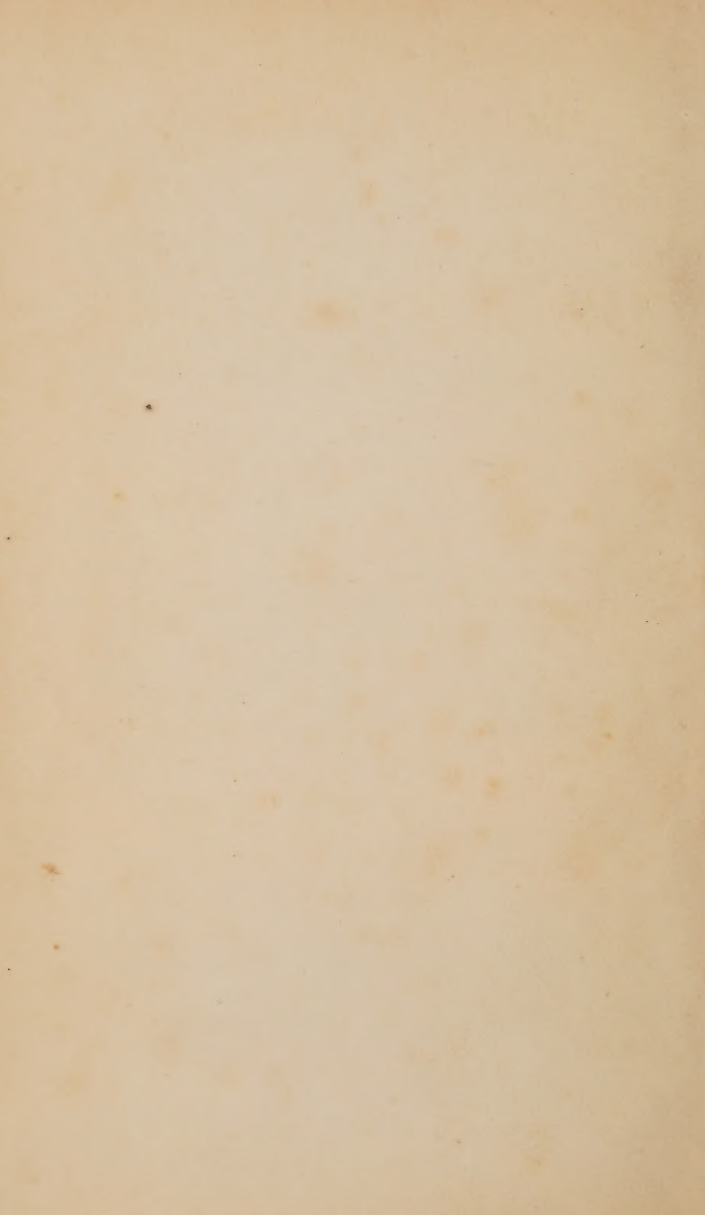
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Second adventism in the
light of Jewish history



SECOND ADVENTISM,

IN THE LIGHT OF

JEWISH HISTORY.

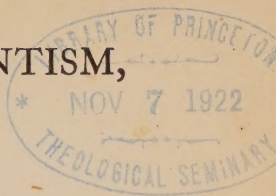
BY
REV. T. M. HOPKINS, A.M.

"Let him that readeth understand."—MARK xiii. 14.

EDITED BY
JAMES R. BOYD, D.D.

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NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

THE Author left, at the time of his decease, two works in manuscript, on the much agitated subject of *Second Adventism*, probably designing to publish the smaller first (which is a sort of synopsis of the larger), as a means of determining whether it would be expedient to follow it with the larger. Both of these having been placed in the hands of the Editor for examination and revision, it has seemed best, on a careful comparison, to lay before the public the following treatise, composed of the greater part of the larger work, and some portions of the smaller that served to render the former more complete.

The subject is one confessedly of peculiar difficulty, upon which, therefore, a great diversity of opinion still exists; and if, as the author supposed, he has constructed a line of argument that leads to a sound and satisfactory result, the reader will be

amply compensated for the trouble of examination. The Treatise certainly throws much light on many portions of this important subject ; and it possesses great value besides, on account of the large quotations which it contains from a learned treatise of F. Muentzer, late Bishop of Copenhagen, on the Jewish War under Trajan and Hadrian ; and also from a valuable exegesis (which it quotes) of Matt. xxiv. 29-31, by Prof. Edward Robinson, D. D., to which that historical tract gives strong support.

The argument which is drawn from the prophecy of Daniel and from the Apocalypse, introduces some points that will be read with interest, for their novelty at least, if not for their plausibility and accuracy as well. The interpretation given of the Apocalypse differs widely from the common one ; but is not, for that reason, to be regarded as unworthy of consideration, and perhaps also of adoption.

On these several accounts, the Editor takes great pleasure in commending the following work to a candid perusal, on the part of all who desire to know what the Scriptures really teach in respect to THE COMING OF THE LORD.

Geneva, N. Y., 1872.

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INTRODUCTORY.

AGAIN the world is summoned to look for the personal appearing of the Lord Jesus Christ. Again the human family is assured that the day of his advent is at hand; that not only the signs and tokens of his appearance are numerous, but that they are precisely those which Christ himself designated as the infallible precursors of his speedy appearing. The advocates of this position hold us responsible not only for a belief in the cardinal doctrines of the gospel, but also for a belief in the *personal* appearing and reign of Christ upon the earth, for a thousand years before the dawn of the millennial glory. It is not enough that we watch and wait and pray for the prevalence of his gospel and his universal reign on the earth, but we are told that we must believe in his personal presence and reign as introductory to the Millennium. Assuran-

ces are given us from the Old World and the New, that the day is at hand when "the Son of Man shall be seen coming in the clouds of heaven," with great pomp and glory, as introductory to the kingdom of heaven among men, and that he shall again dwell with men, as in the days of Herod the King, to instruct and train his people for the kingdom of heaven, and to bring his enemies to condign punishment.

The following Treatise takes the ground that the Second Advent or Coming of Christ is an event which transpired over 1700 years ago. How far the writer has succeeded in sustaining that position the reader can judge when he has duly considered the facts adduced in support of it.

There is a kind of faith which differs so slightly from a blind credulity that it may properly be called by the same name, though it cannot be attacked successfully with the same weapons. It recognizes no conflicting facts or principles; acknowledges no argument which militates against it, as worthy of notice, but steadfastly endeavors to maintain its ground in defiance of all that has been said, however successfully, for its overthrow. Like the Jews who have so long been looking in

a wrong direction for the promised Messiah, the men who are daily expecting the *literally personal coming of Christ*, are looking for an event which beyond all reasonable occasion for doubt, as we intend to show, has long since been numbered with things of the past.

THE SUBJECT AS ANNOUNCED BY JESUS CHRIST.

WE shall endeavor to prove that Jesus Christ, in his instructions to his disciples concerning his coming, clearly assured them of *three distinct catastrophes*, two of which were to take place within a few years after his crucifixion and death, the other at the end of the world when he should personally appear and literally, to raise the dead and judge the world. It will be shown in respect to the two former events, that they were to be preceded by many signs and wonders heralding their approach; but that the latter shall be announced by "the Son of Man coming in his glory, and all his holy angels with him; that he shall sit upon the throne of his glory, and that before him shall be gathered all nations," etc. His personal presence is to be looked for in connection with this last event, and with this alone.

That which we regard as *the First Catastrophe*—and we believe it is so regarded by all—is *the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus*, in the year of our Lord 70, or about forty years after the conversation held with his disciples respecting it upon the Mount of Olives. The *Second Catastrophe* is that for which the advocates of a premillennial and personal advent of Christ are now waiting; but which, as we are able to show, took place about seventy years after the first, in *the nearly total destruction of the Jewish Nation*, the wreck of their civil and ecclesiastical polity, and the dispersion of the fragments of that unhappy people among the nations of the earth. The *Third Catastrophe* is the General Judgment at the end of the world.

PART I.

THE FIRST CATASTROPHE.

THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS. A. D. 70.

THIS was indisputably the subject of discourse between the Lord Jesus Christ and his disciples on the Mount of Olives. He had just taken his final leave of the Temple and its Courts, and in quitting them had given utterance to the memorable prediction: "Verily I say unto you, there shall not be left one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down,"—Matt. 24: 2; Mark 13: 2; Luke 21: 6. Seated with his disciples upon the mountain side over against the Temple, where its courts and its edifices, as well as the City itself, were spread out before him, Peter, James, John and Andrew proposed to him privately the following questions: "Tell us when shall these things be, and what shall be the sign of thy coming and of the end of

the world?"—Matt. 24 : 3 ; Mark 13 : 4 ; Luke 21 : 7. It will be shown hereafter that the last question related to the end of the *age*, or *dispensation*, the word in the original being *αἰωνος*, and not *κοσμου*.

The disciples, in the questions proposed, undoubtedly referred to the things about which the Saviour had just been speaking—the destruction of the Temple, the coming of the Lord Jesus, and the end of the age—not of the world (as in the authorized version), for that had not been made the subject of conversation. Not a word had been said, as far as appears from the record, on the subject of his final coming. And as to the term "world" (*αἰωνος*), there cannot be a single argument offered in support of the translation. New Testament usage is clearly against it. Gal. 1 : 4—"This present evil *world*," can mean only the men of the present *age* ; in every-day language, *the age*. II. Cor. 4 : 4—"In whom the god of this *world* hath blinded," etc. (*i. e.* as is evident, the god of this *age* or generation.) But I. Cor. 10 : 11, would seem to settle its meaning effectually. The Apostle is speaking of examples under the O. T. dispensation which were left for our "admonition, on whom *the ends of the world* are come," plainly the ends

of the *Jewish world*, or *Dispensation*. He speaks as though this were a familiar phrase. Why, then, after the instructions which Christ had given concerning his *new Kingdom*, his *new Dispensation*, may we not reasonably suppose that the disciples inquired of their Master concerning that *αἰων* which was about to end? Plainly this would be altogether consonant with the drift of the preceding questions. Besides, there is nothing in the preceding part of Matthew's Gospel which shows that Christ had said any thing to his disciples which could lead them to believe that the end of the world, *as we use this phrase*, would come just before the commencement of his kingdom. He taught them, indeed, that there would be at some future time an end of the world, a general judgment; but it was evidently not his object to declare the exact time of this event in any conversation which he held with his disciples. His language is—"When the Son of Man cometh," etc., then he would proceed to do so and so.

A more important passage for determining the exact meaning of this word (*αἰων*) is Matt. 13: 39. In the preceding verse the Saviour says—"The field (of your labors) is the world," the *κοσμος*. In

the next verse he says, "the harvest is the end of the world" (*αἰωνος*), *i. e.* *age, dispensation*. If he meant to convey the same meaning by each of these words, why does he employ both? Besides, as if to fix the meaning of this latter term, he assures his disciples that there were some standing before him who should not taste of death till they had seen the Son of Man coming in his Kingdom. Now who can understand him as thereby affirming that some of those persons should remain on the earth till the judgment? Hence we infer that the disciples must have inquired concerning *the end of the age, or dispensation*. In answer to that question, it was true that there were some standing there who lived to see the end of that dispensation, but not the end of the world—the scene of the Judgment.

It should also be understood that the meaning given by our translators to *αἰων* in the passage under consideration, was derived from the Rabbins. The Jewish Church was so sunk in superstition towards the close of its existence and the beginning of the gospel dispensation, as to regard Jerusalem, heaven; and the land of Palestine, the world. Outside of this territory there was nothing which

the Jew regarded as worthy of his notice. This sentiment or feeling crept into the minds of the Apostles so far as to influence their modes of expression. Paul affirms that the Gospel had been preached "in all the earth" (Rom. 10 : 18), when, as is perfectly obvious, he meant only the tribes of Israel. His object seems to be to show that this event (the preaching of the gospel) which the Saviour declared must take place before his coming, had actually transpired. Christ had declared that his Gospel must first be preached "in all the world for a witness to all nations, and then the end should come." Paul affirmed that that had already been done. "Their words," meaning the words of the first preachers of Christianity, "went into all the earth, and unto the ends of the world." Rom. 10 : 18.

The word which our translators have here rendered "world" is not *αἶον*, but *οἰκονμὲνη*, meaning the habitable earth or world, especially Judea, or Palestine; precisely the same which Matthew represents our Saviour as using, when he declared that the Gospel of his Kingdom must first be preached in all the earth, and then the end should come. Now it would seem to be quite clear that if Paul's

understanding of the words of Christ may be relied on, "the end" to which Christ referred was very near at the time the Apostle wrote; and it evidently was near, for the first catastrophe, the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, was even at the door.

In confirmation of the above interpretation, refer to Luke 2: 1. The decree that Cæsar Augustus sent forth was, that "all the *world* should be taxed." Was Cæsar Augustus ruler of the whole world (as we understand the term), or does the sacred writer mean only the land of Palestine? or perhaps of the Roman Empire? The same writer (4: 5) uses the term evidently with reference to the Roman Empire. And what a relief to the plain English reader, could he read, as he evidently should—"Again the Devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain, and sheweth him all the region round about," *i. e.* all the Roman Empire that was included in Palestine, in a moment of time.

THE MEANING OF THE EXPRESSION "THE COMING
OF THE SON OF MAN."

As used by our Lord, it seems to bear the same import as the expression "the coming of the Lord"

in the O. T. scriptures. But the manner in which it is used, both in the Old and in the New Testament, clearly shows that no one understood by it a *personal* appearance of the Son of Man. It always seems to imply a series of events of a most solemn and important character, and those which should deeply affect the character and condition of the Jewish nation, as well as of other nations around.

Much has been said, by those who have written on this subject, in favor of what they are pleased to call a literal interpretation of the Scriptures, in reference to the event now under consideration. Hard language has been used with respect to those who differ from them as to the principle of interpretation, and a class of feelings excited that are any thing but friendly. But, certainly, no sane man will attempt to maintain the literal accomplishment of many things which our Saviour said would attend his coming. "The sun shall be darkened and the moon turned to blood," cannot be understood or explained literally. The darkening of the sun thus explained would be simply an eclipse, which is an event that takes place very often, and causes, of course, no special

alarm or interest. The other expression, "the turning of the moon into blood," must be understood as referring only to its appearance ; but this is true of that luminary so often that no one regards it as any mark of fearful import, or one that would indicate any extraordinary event as about to take place. But "the stars falling from heaven" is an expression that creates the greatest difficulty to the Literalist. That the millions of stars, each one being perhaps many times larger than this earth, should fall upon this earth, yea, even upon the land of Palestine, and find room to lie there, is a declaration which every intelligent man will be likely to inquire into before he will adopt a theory involving such an absurdity.

"Very true," replies the second adventist, "but the orientals would mean by such a declaration ('the stars,' etc.) only the falling of meteors, like those of Nov., 1832." Our reply to such a suggestion is, that the Bible says "stars," not meteors, nor fire-balls, nor anything else, but literally stars, and we are dealing with Literalists. If there is any departure whatever from the most rigid literal construction, it must inure to our side of the argument.

It must consequently be admitted that all these signs and wonders, as they were designed to foretoken events *on the earth*, and not in heaven, are simply declarations of troublous times at hand for the nation about whom our Lord was speaking. The obscuring of the sun, inasmuch as the Jewish church was the light of the world, may mean the fearful darkness which enshrouded that moral luminary "before the coming of the great and terrible day of the Lord." The "turning of the moon into blood" may foreshadow the bloody wars in which the civil power of the same nation was soon to be involved. "Falling stars" would then be emblematic of the sad and melancholy defection of those who were men of commanding influence, whether in church or state; as "earthquakes" in different places would bespeak terrible commotion among the common people.

It serves to commend this view of the subject not a little, that such a state of things actually occurred, in every important particular, before the destruction of Jerusalem, and also prior to the Second Catastrophe, as will soon be shown. Josephus, whose history was written among the smoldering ruins of that city, has exhausted the Greek

language in describing the horrors of its siege and capture. Other historians who have attempted to describe that terrible event have seemed to regard themselves as portraying evils which strictly accord with the declarations of Jesus Christ himself, when he describes the troubles that were to come upon that nation as not having been equalled, or at any rate not surpassed, in all the preceding ages of the world, and never to be surpassed in the future.

The fact that the Lord Jesus Christ, in predicting the evils which were coming upon the Jews, saw fit to make use of language which had been employed by Isaiah and all the prophets ages before, has not been noticed with sufficient particularity, we think, by any who have written upon the subject. It would seem to prove that the prophets referred to the same events as our Lord, and that the latter would thus remind the Jews that “they were the Librarians,” as was said by Dr. Chalmers—that they had themselves kept the books which announced with sufficient plainness those terrible evils which were now at the door. And as to a literal fulfilment of any of those O. T. prophecies, no one will claim it; the most earnest Literalist will not dare to maintain it.

THE TIME NEAR AT HAND.

Every reader of the New Testament has felt embarrassed in reading the repeated assurances that "the day of the Lord is at hand." "Behold," says Christ himself, "I come quickly;" "The time is short," etc. How often did he admonish his disciples to *watch*, lest they should be taken by surprise. "What I say unto you, I say unto all, *watch*." His advent was often compared by himself to the coming of a thief, solely on the ground of its unexpectedness. Various representations, all implying suddenness, abruptness, and the like, were employed by the Saviour in reference to his coming, all pointing to an event near at hand, and "at the door."

The destruction of Jerusalem must have been that event. No other can claim to have been intended. That which we regard as his *second* coming is somewhat further off (65 or 70 years), or about A. D. 135. But the consideration of this, and of the facts connected with it, will be attended to in due time. The third and last coming is that in which he will *personally* appear for the purpose of raising the dead and of judging the world

—an event which certainly has not yet taken place, and, from all we can now see, is not likely very soon to occur.

The gospel is first to be preached among all nations; the world to be evangelized; a period of many thousand years may intervene before the "end of all things" shall take place. But of this, more hereafter.

Bearing in mind then the constant endeavor of our Lord to represent his coming as *near at hand*, and the fact that the Apostles, when they speak of that event, regard it in the same light, it is folly to maintain that he and they spoke then of the Judgment. Equally vain is it to apply the language to any other event except that of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and of the final catastrophe of the Jewish nation soon after.

It seems important here to glance at the peculiar training and expectations of the Apostles. They, in common with the rest of their countrymen, had long looked for the promised Messiah. Their expectation was founded upon the prophecies of the O. T. scriptures, where the coming of the Messiah and his triumphant reign are foretold in terms of great poetic fervor and sublimity. This

reign is described as a golden age, when the true religion, and with it the Jewish throne and theocracy, should be re-established in more than pristine splendor and purity, and where universal peace and happiness should prevail. "All this," says Dr. Edward Robinson, "was doubtless to be understood in a spiritual sense. It was the Redeemer's spiritual kingdom that was thus foreshadowed—that mystery of God which had been kept hid from ages, but was now to be revealed to the Saints of the Most High."

The occasion of blindness to the Jewish people seems to be somewhat akin to that which has happened to the advocates of Second Adventism at the present time. The Jews insisted upon a literal explanation of the prophecies respecting the Messiah and his kingdom; consequently they looked only for a temporal Prince and Sovereign. They expected a Messiah who should literally "come in the clouds of heaven," and, as King of the Jewish nation, should restore the ancient reign and worship, reform the morals of the people, deliver them from the yoke of foreign dominion, and exalt them to national preëminence, and at length reign over all the earth in peace and glory. Their

then present condition of humiliation and sorrow was to cease, and to be succeeded by an elevation to power and glory which should never end. The world, so to speak, was to be turned upside down ; existing principalities and thrones were to be cast to the ground. The coming of the promised Messiah was to be the signal for those mighty revolutions, the antecedent of the downfall of the then present order of the world, and of the introduction of a new state of things.

That even the Apostles were deeply imbued with these sentiments in respect to a temporal Prince and Saviour, at least so long as Jesus was with them, and for a time after his resurrection, is apparent from the sacred narrative. On this subject, notwithstanding all the instructions of their Lord, they were still groping in darkness. True, they received Jesus with sincere faith as the promised Messiah ; but of the true character of himself and his kingdom they had only imperfect conceptions. Not until after the institution of the Holy Supper did he speak plainly to them of his approaching departure. Even then their dullness of apprehension was so great that our Lord pronounces them incapable of receiving the instruction

which he desired to communicate. “I have many things to say to you, but ye cannot bear them now.”

Such then being the low state of knowledge and expectation in the minds of the Apostles at the time of our Lord's death, it is easy to see that the inquiry, made by them only a few days earlier, must be judged of and interpreted in accordance with such a state of mind and of feeling. They had looked for a literal temporal exaltation of their Master, and for a restitution of secular preëminence and glory to the Jewish people. The introduction of this new and coveted state of things would constitute his “coming.” But with this they must now connect the overthrow of the Temple and of the City, as he had just predicted.

The questions which they proposed to the Saviour, respecting his “coming” and “the end of the world,” must be interpreted in accordance with their circumstances. They inquired about his coming to bring to an end the then existing state of things in the Jewish nation. The subject of the Judgment does not seem to have been embraced in their minds, and consequently they asked no question about it, and therefore, no answer was required to be given to such question.

“THE DAY OF THE LORD.”

Old Testament usage is the basis of the expressions used by our Lord. The prophecy of Isaiah contains many parent texts, some of which may have been intended to apply to the very subject in hand. Chapters xiii. and xiv. confessedly have reference to the invasion and destruction of Babylon, and we are to remember that the writer of the Apocalypse has expressly assured us that that is the name of the city “where our Lord was crucified, and which is called Babylon.”

In describing “the Day of the Lord” (a phrase which has been adopted by the writers of the New Testament and always connected with the idea of retribution, punishment and the like) the prophet says: “Behold the Day of the Lord cometh, cruel both with wrath and fierce anger, to lay the land desolate, and he shall destroy the sinners thereof out of it.” Then follows the phraseology to which we have referred: “For the stars of heaven and the constellations thereof shall not give their light; the sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine, and I will punish the world,” etc.—13: 9–11. “Here,”

remarks Prof. Stuart, "verse 10 contains the very same imagery which is employed by the Saviour himself as recorded by Matthew 24 : 29. At least the fundamental idea is the same."

Again, in Isaiah 24 : 19-23, the desolation and destruction of Jerusalem are predicted. Reference should be made, also, to the prophecy of Joel 2 : 30-31, where the scene before us is described with remarkable particularity : "I will show wonders in the heavens, and in the earth, blood, fire, and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness and the moon into blood, before the great and terrible day of the Lord come." Peter, as is well known, quotes this passage, with much that precedes it, as applying to events that were about to take place in Palestine—the great changes that were soon to follow. In other words, we have in the verse quoted, a declaration of the impending judgments of God against Jerusalem, with imagery or costume emphatically similar to that in Matt. 24. Again, in Joel, chap. 3, the heaviest judgments are denounced against heathen nations who, at some future day, should come up against Jerusalem. Their punishment is described as accompanied with the same wonderful phenom-

ena: “The sun and the moon shall be darkened, and the stars shall withdraw their shining.”

We come now to the inquiry (upon which some remarks may be found on a previous page) as to what is implied in “the coming of the Son of Man.” Matt. 24, verse 30, asserts that, after certain events already specified by the Saviour as harbingers of his coming, he himself should be seen coming in the clouds of heaven,” etc. This expression is especially relied on by the Literalist as altogether inapplicable to the destruction of Jerusalem. That Christ did not at the time of that event appear “in propria persona” is admitted. “Therefore,” says the Literalist, “it is evident enough that the Saviour did not intend it to apply to any event but that of his final coming to judgment.” The soundness of this inference depends entirely on the fact whether Christ meant to be understood literally or figuratively.

The Bible elsewhere speaks in like manner, without leaving us any room to suppose that the coming in this manner was a literal, personal, or visible one. When God intends to express his purpose to execute certain plans in respect to men, he speaks of coming down to earth to do it. When

Babel was built, "the Lord *came down* to see the city and the tower,"—Gen. 11: 5. Again, he said: "Let us *go down*, and confound their language," 5: 7. See also Gen. 18: 21; Exod. 3-8; 19: 18-20; Numb. 12: 5, for examples of the same phrase. The prophet Isaiah, 64: 1, uses this expression, "Oh that thou wouldst *rend the heavens*, that thou wouldst *come down*, that the mountains might flow down *at thy presence*."

But the apostle Paul declares God to be *invisible*, (1. Tim. 1: 17), and says of him (1. Tim. 6: 16) "whom no man *hath seen or can see*." The apostle John says: "No man hath seen God at any time" (1. John 4: 12-20). Of course all the scripture passages which represent him as being seen, or as having been seen, *are not to be understood literally*. They must be explained as signifying a manifestation of God, either by symbol, or by his agency either in punishing his enemies, or in protecting his people. But we are never to suppose a personal and visible coming. He is always and everywhere present, and cannot therefore come and go, in a literal sense. Of course we are not at liberty to give such passages a literal interpretation.

Enough has been said respecting Old Testament

usage; let us now come to the New. The only question with which we are concerned is, whether there be any other than a visible or a literal coming of Christ spoken of in the N. T. If there be plain and indubitable cases of such a nature (as we believe there are) then it does by no means become a matter of necessity to allow that the coming of Christ spoken of in Matt. 24 : 30 should be interpreted in its literal sense, and thus be referred to the General Judgment.

Christ said to his disciples on one occasion : “If I go and prepare a place for you, I will *come again* and receive you to myself,”—John 14 : 3. Did he then come in proper person, visibly, when each of his disciples died, and take them to himself? In verse 23 is a much stronger expression : “If any man love me, he will keep my words, and my Father will love him, and *we will come to him*, and make our abode with him.” Was this a literal, bodily coming? Turn also to Rev. 3 : 20 ; but especially to John 21 : 22–23—“If I will that he tarry till I come,” etc. When was that coming to be? If it was at the General Judgment then John was not to die at all, for the saints then alive are not to die at all, but to be immedi-

ately caught up to meet the Lord in the air, doubtless after a proper and necessary metamorphosis. This coming then, after which, and not before, John was to die, must have been an event which was to take place during that generation. And what could that be but his coming to punish the unbelieving and persecuting Jews.

The term “coming” is used in the N. T. with direct reference to the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ twenty-five times, in not one of which is there the remotest reference to his coming in judgment at the end of the world, *i. e.* the end of all things. There can be no doubt that that term was used in the sense of arraigning and punishing the wicked, and thus it came very naturally to imply the destruction of the unbelieving Jews—the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple by Titus. This was his first visitation—the first catastrophe. But does any man attempt to maintain that this “coming” implied a personal appearing or advent of the Son of Man? Was Christ present in the year 70, when Jerusalem and its temple were demolished, or did the disciples understand him as coming in any other sense than that of inflicting summary punishment upon that guilty people?

We will next refer the Literalist to Matt. 16 : 28—“ Verily I say unto you, there be some standing here who shall not taste of death till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom.” Mark, in the parallel passage (9 : 1), says—“till they see the kingdom of God come with power ;” Luke (19 : 27)—“till they see the kingdom of God.” The coming of the Son of Man, therefore, as here taught, is not a visible manifestation of him in any other method than by the agency and efficacy of gospel truth. It is the reign of Christ for which he taught us to pray : “Thy kingdom come.” Notice this, kind reader, we are taught to pray for the coming of Christ’s *kingdom*, not for *his* coming.

Further : At the close of the parable of the Ten Virgins (Matt. 25 : 13), Christ says to his disciples : “Watch, therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour when the Son of Man *cometh*.” If now this exhortation was addressed to the disciples in the sense of a practical duty, and was uttered for the reason assigned, namely, their ignorance of the time of his coming, then it follows that the event spoken of must be some other than his coming in judgment. If not, Christ himself, as it would seem, must have been mistaken, and was thus lead-

ing his disciples into error. How could he exhort them to live constantly on the watch, expecting his coming, if that coming was not to arrive for thousands of years after they were dead? There is no alternative. Either the Saviour himself was mistaken, and so led his disciples into error, or the coming in question was not the final one to judgment. It must have been his coming to destroy Jerusalem, and the Jewish commonwealth.

But we must look a little further, at Matt. 24: 14, where it is said: "This gospel of the kingdom must be preached in all the world for a witness to all nations, and then shall the end come." But the Apocalypse assures us that when the gospel has been preached among all nations, a thousand years are to follow before the end of the world. This apparent discrepancy is removed by considering the true import of the word here translated *world*, which is properly the land of Judea or Palestine. The object of the Saviour seems to have been to embrace all the known world which was at that time occupied by the tribes of Israel. The word *οἰκουμένη* is thus defined by Dr. Robinson, upon the authority of the Apostle Paul, as we shall soon see. The literal end of the world then, or of the

earth, is not even alluded to here, for that is an event that is to follow the diffusion of the gospel through the tribes of Israel. And this took place before the Jewish capital or commonwealth was destroyed. Paul assures us (Rom. 10: 18) that the messengers of gospel truth had caused "their sound to go forth into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world." Here the Apostle uses the aforesaid word *οἰκουμένη* in precisely the same sense in which it is used in Matt. 24: 14. Again, he says of the gospel that it is come to the Colossians, "and into all the world"—(1: 5, 6). And further, that it was "preached to every creature under heaven"—(v. 23). Every difficulty here vanishes when we regard Paul as laboring to convince the Colossians that "the end of all things was at hand," because the gospel had been preached to all the tribes of Israel, and this was an event which was immediately to precede the end of the age, or dispensation.

We know not how it is that men familiar with the languages in which the Bible was originally written, who seem to be honest in pursuit of truth, can come to the conclusion that all the conversation between Christ and the disciples on the occa-

sion we are considering, referred either to a second appearing, *literal, visible, and personal*, or to his coming at the end of time to judge the world. In every case, except that which is recorded in Matt. 25: 31-46 (where it is conceded by all that his subject is the General Judgment) our Lord gives instructions, announces events that shall take place *before* his coming, which cannot be reconciled with any such idea. The advocates of Second Adventism believe that none of his instructions as to his coming refer to the destruction of Jerusalem, either that which took place under Titus, or that which occurred under Hadrian. They stoutly maintain that all his teachings, on the occasion of which we are speaking, related to the General Judgment, and that every thing which he said is worthy of a higher interpretation than the event of the destruction of Jerusalem.

Let us look, however, at his directions to his disciples, to ascertain whether we can find any thing to guide us in this matter. Matt. 24: 2—"Verily I say unto you, there shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down." Is there any thing in the scenes of the judgment answering to this? Again, Christ says:

“Take heed that no man deceive you.” Is there a possibility of any man deceiving them “when the Son of Man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him”? He cautions them further, that many would come in his name, saying “I am Christ.” Can this prediction have reference to the judgment? Will any but Christ claim to sit upon the throne in that day? Passing over the predictions of wars, the rising of nation against nation, famines, pestilences, and earthquakes, as the beginnings of sorrows, why should any man seek to kill the disciples at this particular time, and why at this important period should men betray and hate one another? All are summoned to judgment. Why seek to embarrass one another in any way, or for any cause? How are we to understand the prediction: “Many false prophets shall arise?” It would seem rather unnatural that such characters should be found in the morning of the judgment, but quite likely to appear before the destruction of Jerusalem. Again it was said: “He that shall endure to the end, the same shall be saved.” End of what? Of the judgment? And who will not endure unto that end?

Our next inquiry concerns “the abomination of

desolation, standing in the holy place," or, more correctly, the directions that follow it—"Then let them that are in Judea flee to the mountains." For what? To escape the judgment? And who gave such instructions as these? The Judge himself? Impossible! And what shall become of the rest of the earth's inhabitants? The directions are only to those occupying the land of Judea. We admit the pertinence and the propriety of the instructions in verses 17 and 18, when men are called to the judgment, but this admission does not remove the absurdity of the idea that the Judge should represent himself as counselling men to flee to the mountains to escape the judgment. But verse 20 presents another difficulty upon this theory. Christ, the Judge, instructs them to pray that their "flight" from the judgment seat "be not in the winter!"

But the reader may be referred to the record itself, without note or comment, from v. 20 to v. 28 inclusive, as containing a series of statements which can never be reconciled with the idea that the "coming" of which the Saviour speaks, v. 27, is to be understood of the Judgment Day. He must have a deeper insight into things than any intelli-

gent man has, or he will be able to see only the announcement of Christ's coming to destroy Jerusalem.

Thus far then the case is clear. Several points have been settled: 1. The discourse of our Lord up to this point does not refer to the Day of Judgment; 2. The disciples had confined their inquiries to Jerusalem, as to the period of its destruction and the signs which should indicate it; 3. To the "coming of the Son of Man"—this last expression being understood by them all to imply the punishment of the Jews and the end of the Jewish dispensation. The part we have considered terminates with 24: 28, the invasion of Jerusalem by the army with eagle ensigns; the eagles are gathered around the corse, but have not yet devoured it.

Luke points to the time when they "shall see Jerusalem compassed by armies, and then they should know that the desolation thereof was nigh." Then you will have your last opportunity to save yourselves by flight: then will the eagles be gathered together where the carcass is; and "Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled."

Here we suppose the Saviour's description of the First Catastrophe terminates. The questions put by the disciples which referred to the destruction of Jerusalem are here answered, so far as they are answered at all. Events, as signs of that destruction were at hand, and they were of a nature that would require no expositor, and lead to no mistake.

In close and direct connection with this representation follows the passage in Matthew, which we regard as the prophetic record of the Second Catastrophe, or of Christ's Second Coming, and which forms the second part of our subject.

PART II.

THE SECOND CATASTROPHE.

WE shall introduce this event by citing the record given by Matthew only, agreeing in every essential particular with the record as given by Mark 13: 24-27, and Luke 21: 24-28, Matt. 24: 29-31. "Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light; and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken," etc. The Saviour, while apparently pursuing the general tenor of his discourse stops short, and by the introduction of a few words intimates that the theme upon which he had been dwelling was ended, and that another was now commenced, and yet an event so like to the former as scarcely to be distinguishable from it, except in regard to its importance. Were it not for the words "*immediately after,*" etc., the reader would feel compelled

to regard the whole discourse as referring to but one great event. All have felt, however, a serious difficulty in the way of understanding it as referring to one event. An appeal to the history of the Jews, so far as that history was known, afforded no relief. One catastrophe, and only one, is recorded by Josephus, and that the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus. He could not speak of anything later than that, inasmuch as his death occurred near the close of the scene.

In accordance with the above passage cited from Matthew, the other Evangelists specify a number of events that were to transpire previous to the catastrophe to which our Lord would now direct the attention of his Disciples. The similitude of the fig-tree is introduced to impress on their minds the fact that it was near at hand, and the time is made more definite by the declaration, "Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away till all these things are fulfilled."

It will not be denied that the Saviour here referred to one of two or three events; either to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, or to his coming to judge the world, or to an event which was to take place in the course of the time which at that

period or age of the world was called a "generation." It has been already made abundantly clear that the first of these events is not referred to after v. 28. In respect to the hypothesis that our Lord is speaking of his coming to judge the world, we think the number is very small who will subscribe to it, since it involves the chronological absurdity that there were some standing there who were to live till the judgment. There remains then the hypothesis, which we advocate, that Christ referred to another, a second catastrophe, a continuance or consummation of the first, the destruction of the Jewish state and nationality. There are many, we are aware, who hold a very different view. They believe in what is termed a second coming of Christ—a *personal* advent and reign of the Messiah on earth for the period of a thousand years previous to the Millennium.

We admit that there is a similarity in the signs and events that are described as antecedent to each catastrophe, as we have designated them. So there is a marked similarity in the two events—the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, A. D. 70, and the destruction of the same, together with that of the Jewish state and nationality by Hadrian, A. D.

135. And here lies the origin of that embarrassment felt even by good men, concerning the coming of Christ. They have confounded the two events, or have made them one. But the principal reason has been that the history of that nation, like the nation itself, almost perished from the earth. There was no Josephus to chronicle the second event; hence the knowledge of this has been not only limited and incomplete, but it has been so long kept back from the world, that the world refuses to receive or credit it.

Those who confound the two events alluded to have never been able to dispose in a satisfactory manner of this announcement: "Immediately after the events which I have related, ending, as this relation does, in the total destruction of Jerusalem, *another* series of similar or more formidable tokens shall announce the same." They who have felt this embarrassment most, have sought to escape from it by supposing that the verses under consideration referred to the coming of our Lord to judge the world. But a more formidable difficulty is found in the assurance that the catastrophe *now* under consideration was to be heralded by events that did not take place till *after* the destruction of

Jerusalem. "The abomination of desolation," and "the compassing of Jerusalem with armies," and also "the treading down of the city by the Gentiles," were to be subsequent to the destruction of the Temple. Those who have endeavored to explain all by the hypothesis that Christ throughout this conversation with his disciples intends to indicate only his coming to judge the world, have been most seriously troubled with the words under consideration. And these difficulties are increasing every year. Nearly 2,000 years have already passed, and still the anticipated event is delayed; "the end is not yet." Time and again the period has been fixed upon; the year, the month, *the day* even, when there should be an end of all earthly things. The sun was to go down, never to rise; the moon to wax old, never to be renewed. The humanly-appointed day arrives, but brings no catastrophe of the kind predicted. The world moves on without appearing to know any thing about the fearful predictions of men.

Universalism, on the other hand, had found an anodyne for an uneasy conscience, in the theory that all these predictions referred to the single event of the destruction of Jerusalem. The gath-

ering of all nations before Jesus Christ, as related by Matt. 25 : 31, etc., the separation of the wicked from the righteous, is the assembling of all the tribes of Israel in Jerusalem, at the time of its destruction. The sending of the wicked into everlasting punishment and the receiving of the righteous into life eternal, are events limited to the present life; and life eternal is just equivalent to "threescore years and ten."

The great majority of those who have confidence in the instructions of Christ still believe, however, that "he that shall come *will* come, and will not tarry." But they look not for his *personal* appearing until he shall come to raise the dead, and judge the world.

The "logic of events," therefore, as well as that of experience, aided by what we are compelled to regard as a correct exegesis of the teachings of Jesus, force upon us the conviction that a second catastrophe, and that a most fearful one to the Jews, was distinctly pointed out by the Saviour in the words which we have placed at the head of this division of our subject. We are confident, moreover, that it can be proved by the light of history, that the evils then foretold by our Lord came

upon the Jewish nation during their wars with Hadrian, the Roman Emperor, between the year 130 and the year 140 of the Christian era ; and that this desolating war was the Second Coming of Christ—an event for which the Second Adventist is now looking with anxious concern !

The history of the scenes through which that nation then passed has made the record of other wars and of other calamities seem as idle tales. Yet that history is confessedly of a meagre character ; but meagre as it is, there is sufficient to show that the declarations of Christ in respect to the evils that were then coming upon the nation could only be understood in the light of that terrible history. This we know : that a nation, numbering some five or six millions, in the course of twenty or thirty years goes down almost to utter extinction, and its sorry fragments are scattered over the civilized world. During the last 1500 years historians have searched for that people as for a paper that had been dropped from the portfolio of Time ; yet that search has for the most part been comparatively in vain. They have seen where that nation went down. The ruins of its cities and villages remain to speak of their former grandeur and magnificence,

and point the inquiring traveller to portions of inspired prophecy which cannot be satisfactorily explained without a distinct recognition of this dreadful event. So near did the nation come to oblivion that for the space of a hundred years or more the world appeared to know nothing of the Jews or of their chief city. History has rowed out upon the ocean of the past, in search of something, some splintered fragment, or bit of plank, to tell where and how the ship of State went down; but as yet has found little.

To prepare the way for a final justification of the exegesis we defend, there will now be produced what of history we have been able to glean respecting the Jews during the eventful period to which reference has so often been made in this treatise. The materials have been derived from the product of the indefatigable labors of Bishop Münter, of Copenhagen, who has devoted half a century to fishing up from the profound depths of the past whatever could be found to throw light upon their mysterious disappearance. The substance of his discoveries we give to the reader, that he may be able to explain the fact, that every man who for the last 1700 years has believed and taught that

our Lord was to appear *in person before* he came to judge the world, has lived to be convinced of his mistake, and of the error of his theory.

It was the opinion of the late learned Dr. Edward Robinson (Professor of Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, in New York City,) that the treatise to which we have just referred, and the substance of which we are about to introduce (from the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1843), throws light upon a most difficult and important subject—that of the Second Coming of Christ. He speaks of this historical work of Münter as “collecting and embodying all the fragmentary notices relating to a dark yet most interesting portion of Jewish history—a portion, too, having a very important bearing upon the right interpretation of those instructions of our Lord Jesus Christ which are supposed to refer solely to the Day of Judgment. Had we the same minute and vivid picture,” he continues, “of the extent and horrors of this tragedy of the Jewish people which is presented to us by Josephus in regard to the siege and downfall of the Holy City by Titus, it may be doubted whether the interest and historical importance of that final overthrow would not be found to equal, or even

surpass, that of the antecedent catastrophe." The bearing of these events upon the prophetic declarations to which we have just alluded, he has given in another article, in the same volume of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, in which he satisfactorily shows that the passage of scripture more particularly under consideration (Matt. 24 : 29-31), must have referred to the Jewish state and nation in an event which came near proving their utter extinction as well as oblivion. This is our reason for citing it. We bespeak for it a most careful perusal, not only on the account just mentioned, but because we regard it as a key to the right understanding of several important passages of scripture—especially in the prophecy of Daniel, and also of the Apocalypse. This history was prepared but a few years ago, and, for want of it, every commentator who has attempted to explain those prophecies has found himself involved in inextricable difficulties, and has learned that he was attempting to explain what he had not the means of understanding. This production, from which we are about to quote, settles forever the question of Christ's Second Coming. No man can read it and believe it, without being convinced that it records

the very calamities to which Christ referred, as described in Matt. 24: 29-31, and in the corresponding passages of the other Evangelists. These points being *settled*, the advocate of a premillennial and personal advent of Christ is driven to the wall, and his theory with him. There are not wanting, in our estimation, arguments from the sacred record itself sufficient to establish this position, if that record be rightly construed; but if there are deficiencies, the history we are now to quote furnishes a satisfactory supplement.

THE JEWISH WAR UNDER TRAJAN AND HADRIAN.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE protracted and bloody war carried on by the Jews and Romans under the Emperors Trajan and Hadrian, is a subject which has not been sufficiently known. Yet it is not only of great importance to Jewish and the earliest ecclesiastical history, but it will contribute to lower the opinion almost universally entertained of the prosperity enjoyed by the Roman Empire in the period extending from Nerva to Commodus. A revolt repeatedly suppressed and ever breaking out anew, in which probably the whole Jewish nation took part; which continued either openly or secretly through a course of more than twenty years; in which several blooming provinces were laid waste, and many hundred thousands perished by the sword and other disasters of war, while countless multitudes forfeited their possessions and their freedom; and whose after-throes must have extended through the

next following ages—such a revolt cannot be reckoned among the minor calamities of the Roman Empire. Indeed the second Jewish war would certainly not yield in historical interest to the first, did we possess as full and correct an account of its occurrences as Josephus has given us of the former. We are able to determine or conjecture only from scattered fragments its extent, duration, and importance.

“To collect and to arrange these fragments,” says Dr. Münter, “is the object I have proposed to myself: a toilsome undertaking, truly, for all the notices are so brief, so incoherent, and not unfrequently so contradictory, that one can often only guess at the connection; and success, even here, often depends upon the fact whether the writer who treats of this subject has acquired a true historical feeling; although this again is liable to lead into error. The most connected account is afforded in Xiphilin’s Extract from the sixty-eighth and sixty-ninth books of Dion Cassius, and by Eusebius in the 4th Book of his Ecclesiastical History. But how brief is even this! All else must be gleaned from solitary intimations in other and meagre historical productions of those times, the chronicles

and the writings of the Fathers. Ancient coins yield a few spoils; of inscriptions we have only a single one; and the notices scattered through the Jewish writers—partly of a very modern date—are of such a quality that at first one will be inclined to pass them over altogether; although one afterwards may be induced to consult them, but with great caution, and to make use of them where they appear in a measure to supply chasms, and where the mutual agreement of authorities speaks for the truth of the substance of what they state.”

ARGUMENT DERIVED FROM THE SECOND JEWISH WAR.

I. The Jewish War, under Vespasian, was brought to a close by the taking of Jerusalem and the destruction of the City and Temple. The subjugated nation had now lost the central point of their religion, and thus were long deprived of the hope of seeing their old expectations of a Messianic kingdom in the Holy City fulfilled. The dislike and contempt entertained against them by the Romans had been greatly increased, and many thousands of Israelites who had survived the fortune of war were deprived of their liberty, placed in the most wretched condition, and removed far away from their native land. But this last misfortune happened to those only who fell into the power of their conquerors with arms in their hands, for the many Jewish colonies which had settled before in the provinces of the Roman Empire, and which, at least apparently, had kept themselves quiet during the war, were not involved in the misfortunes of the Jews of Palestine, and retained the undisturbed enjoyment of their rights and lib-

erties ; although it may readily be supposed that the government watched them with greater strictness, and no longer favored them in the same degree as formerly. One burden only they were all obliged to bear. The yearly tax of two drachmæ, which every Israelite over twenty years of age paid to the Temple as long as it was standing in Jerusalem, they were now compelled (if they wished to preserve their religious freedom) to pay to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, a Roman Deity ; and to what immense sums this tribute, although not very oppressive on individuals, must have amounted, may easily be imagined from the very remarkable populousness of the Jews, who certainly amounted to several millions. (Michaelis supposes there were from five to six millions at that time.)

Every one that knows the character of the Jewish people, their attachment to the religion of their fathers, and their bitter hatred against Paganism, can imagine with what feelings they paid this tax (held hitherto so sacred) to an impure idol temple. No wonder then, that whoever could, sought to escape from it. Many a one may have even denied being a Jew, in case he was able to obliterate the corporeal marks of his religion by a means to which

Paul (I. Cor. 7: 18,) alludes, especially after the authorities began to institute judicial investigations, one of which Suetonius reports as an eye-witness. The universal contempt entertained for this unhappy people, together with the greediness of the officials connected with the revenue, may have given rise, under the tyrannical reign of Domitian, to many oppressive acts, false accusations, and harsh exactions of the tribute. And this moved the noble Nerva to the edict which, if it did not take off the tax, yet put an end to the misconduct that had been practised in its collection, and was regarded as so benevolent that the Senate sought to perpetuate the remembrance of it by a separate coin, bearing the legend *FISCI JUDAICI CALUMNIA SUBLATA*. But that the government should hold the Israelites remaining in Palestine under a strict supervision, was very natural; and it cannot be made a matter of reproach to Domitian, that, on receiving information of the survivors of the family of David that were still living there, he had two relatives of Jesus, grand-children of his brother Jacob, brought to Rome. He convinced himself, however, of their innocence, and let them return to their homes in peace.

II. Still, all the hopes of the Israelites for better times had not yet expired. They continued evermore to console themselves with the expectation of the Messiah. Even supposing that Theudas left no adherents behind him, there certainly remained many of the party of Judas of Galilee, who, during the siege of Jerusalem, had played so conspicuous, and, for the people, so fatal, a part. And that even the Alexandrine Jews still flattered themselves with hopes for the future is probable from the drama of the poet Ezekiel, entitled "The Departure out of Egypt," of which no inconsiderable fragments are found in Clemens of Alexandria, and in Eusebius, and who, perhaps, lived towards the end of the first century of the Christian era; while the example of that wondrous deliverance of the Jewish people from Egyptian bondage was well calculated to nourish and keep alive the expectation of a similar release from the Roman sway. Perhaps, too, the Apocryphal Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, which appears to belong to the same period, had a similar tendency.

But on the other hand, the courage of the unhappy people was too much repressed by the destruction of their capital for them to venture so

soon again on attempts for their liberation, the result of which could by no means be doubtful. On the other hand, they were perhaps somewhat tranquillized by the moderation which Nerva exhibited towards them, and by the mildness of the government of his successors. The fire, however, continued to smolder beneath the ashes, and there needed only some external stimulus to accelerate the outbreak. Nerva, by his edict, had only sought to alleviate the abuses that existed in the collection of the tax to Jupiter Capitolinus. But wise and philanthropic as Trajan was, and careful as he and the Senate, after his example, were, in selecting the governors of the provinces, it surpassed human powers to hold in check all the subordinate functionaries; and many complaints never reached the Emperor, who, involved in arduous wars, was forced to be absent from Rome during a great part of his reign. Add to this the constantly increasing hatred and scorn entertained by the Romans for the Jews, and it will easily be comprehended how, by degrees, now that an age had already passed by since the destruction of Jerusalem, a new insurrection was prepared and ready to break out; and that, too, not at first in Palestine, where the people

dwelt in smaller numbers, and perhaps also under heavier subjection, but in regions that had not suffered by the war, and where the Jewish colonies existed in wealth and comfort. And, although this revolt showed itself only in single provinces, yet, after weighing all the circumstances, it is more than probable that a great, perhaps the greatest, part of the nation had a share in it, and favored and supported it, at least in secret.

III. Egypt and Cyrene were without doubt the countries in which the Jews had spread themselves the most. Every one knows how rich, how powerful, and how highly favored by the government that people were in Alexandria, from the time of the first Ptolemies. Not less fortunate was their condition in the province of Cyrenaica, so intimately connected with Egypt. The first Ptolemy had permitted them to settle there. The religious persecutions of the Syrian king, Antiochus Epiphanes, had induced many to betake themselves to this country, which was not subjected to his rule. In every city of Cyrenaica dwelt Jews in the full enjoyment of equal rights with the Greeks; and their prosperity is evinced not alone by their having, together with the Alexandrians, a synagogue

in Jerusalem, but also from the circumstance recorded in the inscription of Berenice, that in this city, as well as in Alexandria and other cities, and hence most probably throughout Cyrenaica, they were under their own magistrates. But here also they had restless spirits among them. Shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem, a weaver, one Jonathan, had succeeded in misleading about 2,000 persons by promises of signs and wonders. It is true that the wealthier and more respectable took no part in this project, and even gave warning to the Roman governor, Catullus. The latter fell upon their seducer, slaughtered many, and caused 3,000 more rich Jews to be put to death in Egypt; after which he boasted of having obtained a victory over the nation. But when he communicated the matter to the Emperor, with many embellishments to his own advantage, and thereupon made his appearance in Rome with the prisoners, among whom Jonathan also was, Vespasian and Titus were informed, doubtless by the historian Josephus, who was under accusation in company with other Roman and Alexandrine Jews, of the true state of the case. Jonathan paid the penalty of his crime with his life. Catullus, on the contrary, escaped

the punishment he deserved, through the clemency of the Emperor, but died shortly after.

IV. Since that time, so far as we know, all had been quiet in the province of Cyrenaica, at least in appearance, under Trajan's mild and at the same time powerful and virtuous sway. The provinces of the Roman Empire that lay at a distance from the frontiers enjoyed an undisturbed repose; and it was not till he became involved in the arduous Parthian war that the Jews could venture to take up arms. Their revolt, however, must have been concerted and prepared long before; otherwise it could not have spread so far, and with so much violence.

Did we still possess the Ecclesiastical History of Aristo of Pella, which Eusebius made use of, or the History of the Jewish War under Hadrian, by the rhetorician Antonius Julianus, who in all probability was a contemporary, and of whom Minucius Felix and Gellius make mention; or were we better acquainted with the contents of the Samaritan Book of Joshua, so called, we should doubtless be more particularly informed as to the circumstances. As it is, we must content ourselves with what little we obtain from Dion Cassius, Eusebius, and some

others, partly very corrupt sources ; and cannot even adduce, with certainty, the immediate cause of the insurrection in the province of Cyrenaica. Perhaps, however, it was no other than the fact that there were then but few troops in those regions, inasmuch as Trajan had probably taken with him all the forces that could be spared from the provinces for the Parthian war.

It was in the year of Rome 868, A. D. 115, in the 18th and 19th year of Trajan's reign, under the Consuls, M. V. Messala and M. V. Pedo, when the Emperor had in the spring attacked and completely subdued Armenia, after expelling Parthamasiris, the king set up by the Parthians, that the insurrection broke out in Cyrenaica. With incredible quickness, says Orosius, the Jews at the same time broke loose in different countries, as though they had gone mad. The flame of war soon spread to Egypt, and thus took a direction of the last importance to the Roman state. For Alexandria was one of the principal granaries of Rome, which for one-third of the year was furnished with the necessary supply by the grain flotillas that regularly sailed from that city. Consequently the Emperors had given their particular attention to Egypt,

and it had been a maxim ever since the time of Augustus, to intrust the government of that country to none but a Roman knight, and to allow no Senator or distinguished knight to make the journey thither without special permission. The centre of the revolt was Cyrenaica. Thence it spread over the inhabitants of the country, who were slaughtered in droves. Dion Cassius, or rather his epitomist Xiphilin, draws a frightful picture of the barbarities committed by the Jews upon the Greeks. They slew them, he says; they stripped off their skins, and then covered themselves with them; they sawed many of them in two, lengthwise; they devoured their flesh and wound the entrails around their own bodies; they cast them to wild beasts; they forced them to fight as gladiators with one another; and in such modes they put 200,000 to death.

That the slaughter was immense can by no means be doubted; even R. David Ganz, of the 16th century, says in *Zemach David*, one of the best Jewish authorities upon the history of this war, that the Romans and Greeks slain in Africa by the Jews were like the sand on the sea-shore, that cannot be numbered. But the cannibal fury,

which the Jews are accused of, is altogether incredible; as they would thereby have rendered themselves in the highest degree "unclean." What we are to assume as true, is this: that in a sudden and widely-extended rising they destroyed many Romans and Greeks, and that in the amphitheatres they threw many to wild beasts, or forced them to fight with each other. Indeed, it is known that they attended exhibitions of the kind; and they may have desired to repay the Romans, in this manner, for the combats with wild beasts, and as gladiators, in which the latter had employed the Jewish captives after the taking of Jerusalem. The sawing in pieces seems to have been a well-known mode of execution among them. But can that, which may have taken place in single instances, be supposed to have occurred throughout a general insurrection, in which men were slaughtered by thousands? At most, then, only some individuals can have suffered such a death. How the rising was suppressed, we know not. The quieting of Cyrenaica was probably a consequence of the restoration of tranquillity in Egypt; but it required a length of time, and cost rivers of blood, before this end was obtained.

Egypt appears to have been stripped of troops, which were probably needed by the Emperor for the Parthian war ; for the revolt kept continually spreading. Its leader is named *Lucuas* by Eusebius ; and by Dion Cassius, *Andreas*. Perhaps, like many Jews of that period, he bore a double name, one Jewish, the other Roman ; for Lucuas appears to be a corruption of Lucius. The Jews flocked to him on all sides, and greeted him as the King of Israel. One *nomos* (district) after another was laid waste, as far up as the Thebaid ; indeed the Jewish bands appear to have pushed on beyond the boundaries of the Roman Empire, even into Ethiopia, and probably to the state of Meroë, where many Jews resided. Even in Alexandria, where the nation found itself in the most prosperous condition, a revolt appears to have taken place, in which great havoc was committed, although the Jews can hardly have mastered that great and opulent city, of which they possessed only a single quarter. It was not till the following year, A. U. C. 869, A. D. 116, that the troops were assembled ; and then, apparently, they were not sufficiently numerous, for they were driven back in the first battle. They retired, however, in good order to Alex-

andria, which city they also defended, and where they effected a dreadful slaughter among the Jews. Rabbi David Ganz, in the *Meór Enáim*, gives, according to the testimony of R. Asaria de Rossi (in what age he lived is not accurately known), the number of the slain at 200,000. Lucuas and his comrades, however, seem to have given themselves no further trouble about Alexandria, but to have directed their efforts exclusively to the land of their forefathers ; and if there be any truth in the tradition in Albulpharagius, that he led his hosts into Palestine, the expedition must have taken place at this time, and before the great general Marcius Turbo could come to the assistance of the sorely-afflicted province. This officer, who, little as we know of him, was accounted one of the best of Trajan's captains, was now despatched by the Emperor against Lucuas with a body of infantry and cavalry, which, without doubt, was equipped in Syria or Phenicia, and was destined to keep the sea open ; for this was now of the last importance, as the revolt had also broken out in Cyprus, and everything depended on preventing Rome from lacking a supply of corn. We are thus obliged to conclude that the Jews also possessed ships ; which, as they were

then masters of Cyrenaica and Cyprus, is easily explained. Turbo had at least two legions of regular troops, together with the auxiliaries belonging to them, but was obliged to purchase the victory dearly, for several bloody battles took place, in which many thousand Egyptian and Cyrenian Jews perished, and certainly many thousand Romans also. According to the Arabic text of Albulpharagius, Turbo sought out Lucuas in Palestine, and there destroyed his army. He speaks of many small skirmishes. This system of petty warfare was quite suited to the locality of Palestine, as will also be seen in the sequel of this history. The same Arabic text states, moreover, that Lucuas was killed in Palestine.

V. In Egypt, tranquillity seems now to have been restored. The slaughter of the Jews, whether in Palestine or in Egypt, itself terrified them all. But was it the Jews alone, and not, perhaps, the native Egyptians also, that rose against the Romans? That these latter were likewise turbulent, and bore the Roman yoke with an ill-will, can scarce be doubted. The insurrection of the Bucoli under Marcus Aurelius, furnishes a clear proof of the fact. Were the dialogue of Philopatris

found in Lucian's writings genuine, the passage at the close, where Egypt is spoken of as subdued, might certainly be explained as referring to Trajan's victory over the rebellious Jews and Egyptians. But this production belongs, probably, to a later Lucian, who lived in the time of the Emperor Julian, as Wieland has lately maintained from internal grounds.

But great and extensive as the insurrection of Egypt may have been, still, Alexandria was not in it. It is true that Alexandria, having been destroyed by the Jews, was restored by the Emperor Hadrian, in the first year of his reign. But, although it may have suffered much in these disturbances, and in those which, perhaps, broke out there shortly after Trajan's death, destroyed it certainly was not.

VI. While Egypt was now in a state of repose, the insurrection raged in Cyprus. The number of Jews in that island was very great. The trade with Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt, had drawn many thither, and their condition must have been very prosperous. The leader of the revolt, of whom we know nothing further, was named Artemion. According to Dion Cassius, the Jews in Cyprus

put to death 240,000 persons. Eusebius states in his *Chronicon* that they took Salamis, put the Greeks to death and razed the city to the ground. Jewish accounts also assert that they destroyed all the Greeks in the island and in the neighboring countries, and that Trajan was obliged to send Hadrian, his sister's son, to Cyprus in order to subdue them. All this is certainly exaggerated: 240,000 persons, together with 220,000 in Cyren-aica, making all together more than half a million, would not so easily, or rather without the most strenuous resistance, allow themselves to be put to death; and so fruitful a country as Cyprus had at that time certainly not less than a million of inhabitants, of which, however, the Jews could not by far have constituted the largest part. Salamis, also, remained thereafter, as it had been before, the capital of Cyprus, and received in the time of Constantine the name of Constantia. Its bishop, Epiphanius, is also known to Church history. It was at length destroyed by Saracens, under Heraclius. It is therefore probable that Salamis was plundered and set on fire by the Jews, an event which later historiographers have turned into a total destruction. The tumults in Cyprus were

soon suppressed, either by Turbo or by Lucius Quietus. The Jews were completely exterminated, or at least were driven out of the island ; for Dion Cassius relates that none of this people could dwell there, and that any who were driven on shore by stress of weather were immediately put to death. This also is not to be taken literally, and must at any rate be understood only of the period immediately succeeding the revolt.

VII. The circumstances of the period, without doubt, rendered the rising of the Jews in Mesopotamia still more dangerous. They were very wealthy and powerful in this province. Of the ten tribes who had been carried away in former times into the kingdom of Assyria, by far the greater part remained behind, when Cyrus and his successors gave the Jews permission to return to the land of their forefathers. The cities on both banks of the Euphrates in particular were filled with them. According to Philo, they were spread over Babylon and other satrapies. They had their own Patriarch, of the family of David, who was possessed of great privileges under the Parthian government. They came in multitudes to Jerusalem at the time of the festivals ; and under Caligula, the prefect Petronius

was so struck with their numbers that he feared a powerful aid might come from that quarter, were the Jews to oppose by force of arms the Emperor's decree to set up his image in the Temple; and it cannot be doubted that from the ruins of the Jewish state not a few escaped to their co-religionists in the Parthian dominions.

The hatred of the Jews against the Romans may easily be conceived, and in each Parthian war they no doubt devoted themselves with all their hearts to their protectors, the Parthian Emperors, to whom their assistance must have been exceedingly welcome. This, too, must have rendered a revolt in the rear of their army so much the more hazardous to the Romans. Trajan probably still remained with a part of his legions in Armenia, whence, as this country became tranquillized, he gradually withdrew into Mesopotamia. Here, no doubt, it was, in the regions which the Romans had not yet been able to occupy, that the Jews broke out into insurrection. The Emperor committed their suppression or entire expulsion to Lucius Quietus, a Mauritanian, who was considered one of his most distinguished generals, who had done him signal service in the Parthian war, and had taken Nisibis

and Edessa : a proof how important the Emperor held the matter to be. Lucius subdued the Jews with much bloodshed, but incontestably with great loss on his own side also ; for the bravery which the Jews were wont to exhibit, when combatting for their freedom and religion, is well known. Trajan was so well satisfied with the service done him, that he conferred on Lucius the governorship of Palestine—of course with the charge of preserving tranquillity, and, provided there be anything in the story of Lucius' irruption, to put down him or his still remaining adherents. And thus Lucius appears to have restored order for a while.

VIII. With the disturbances in Mesopotamia we are perhaps to connect the martyrdom of St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, who, it seems, was tried in this metropolis of Asia, and then sent to Rome to be executed. The story of his martyrdom has often been called in question ; and especially by Martini. But how can the credibility of the most ancient church history be maintained if we attack even those statements which are confirmed by the most respectable testimonies ? Nevertheless, as the precise period of his death is uncertain, we must assume that Trajan sentenced him during his second

stay in Antioch, in the year 115 ; his first visit to that city having been in A. D. 105. The Christians were not there so accurately distinguished from the Jews, but that the Emperor, although he might have attained more correct information and better ideas respecting them from the trials held in Bithynia by the younger Pliny a few years before, was continually confounding them one with another ; and this especially in the East, and in provinces that were filled with Jews, where the greater part of the Christians had previously professed Judaism, or were of Jewish origin. If now Trajan learned that Ignatius was one of the heads of the Christians, he might easily regard him as a party to the Jewish attacks on the Empire ; and this it was—not the earthquake that had just devastated Antioch, and from which it is said the priests took occasion to accuse the Bishop—that may have excited Trajan against the venerable old man. Indeed, the whole trial as it stands (perhaps not wholly authentic) in the *Acta Martyrum*, exhibits an acrimony which in this noble and philanthropic prince is truly surprising, but which may be accounted for by supposing that he confounded the Syrian Christians with the Jews, or at least re-

garded them as belonging to the same party. That Hadrian also, at a later period, was not able to distinguish between them with readiness, will be seen in the sequel. If such be really the case, the reason is evident why Trajan, after having passed sentence of death on Ignatius, did not cause him to be executed at Antioch, but sent him to Rome, there to be torn in pieces by wild beasts as a rebel. That is, it was an object with him to strike terror into the great body of the Jews in the Roman Empire by the cruel execution of one whom he regarded as the chief of a party in the East, and thus deter them from insurrections. All this, however, I offer as nothing but a conjecture, which perhaps has more plausibility than truth.

IX. Trajan died in the twentieth year of his reign, A. D. 117. Hadrian succeeded him without opposition, made peace with the Parthians, to whom he restored the provinces conquered by Trajan on the other side of the Euphrates, and hastened to Rome. But as soon as he found himself firmly seated on the throne, he commenced, apparently in the year 120, his celebrated tours through all the provinces of the empire. It is true that of these journeys historians have left us little on record, but there

are so many monuments everywhere extant relating to them, and they are testified to by so many inscriptions and coins, that they well deserve to be accurately investigated in a separate Dissertation ; which would doubtless furnish very interesting results. In the regions with which we are at present concerned we first find him between the years 129 and 131.

Through all this period the Jews seemed to have kept themselves tolerably quiet ; if we except a brief revolt in Palestine, immediately after Trajan's death, of which Spartian and Eusebius make mention. The former speaks in general terms of insurrectionary movements in this country, with which, perhaps, the disturbances in Egypt, to which he alludes, were connected.

Eusebius, however, records that Hadrian in his first year subdued the Jews, who had for the third time revolted against the Romans, perhaps in Alexandria. It was, therefore, probably a remnant of the war against Trajan, which had been brought to a close a short time before, and was now completely extinguished. The breaking out of these disturbances may have been connected with the disgrace into which Lucius Quietus fell. For Hadrian,

whose adoption by Trajan was very equivocal, conceived against this great general a suspicion of a design upon the throne, in consequence of an impeachment by his prætorian prefect Tatian, whereupon he deprived him of the command of Mauretanian troops, who were very much devoted to him, as being their own countryman. This may have given the Jews courage to make a new attempt, which, however, can hardly have been of great importance. Since that time all had been quiet in Palestine likewise. Hadrian was there in the year 130, A. U. C. 883; for we have coins of Gaza commencing with a new era, that of his visit to this city. To this period belong the Roman coins that make mention of his journey to this country, and of the benefits conferred on it.

In Egypt Hadrian seems now to have considered himself safe, as far as regards the Jews. He noticed them, indeed, as he did everything else that came in his way; but it was with a rapid and superficial glance.

X. It was very natural that Hadrian, during the first years of his reign, while the Jews remained tranquil, should often occupy himself with them, and with pondering the means of securing

the empire against their attempts for the future. One of these means was perhaps that of dividing the numerous population among the different provinces. But it may well have been difficult to find places for them. Asia, Greece, Italy, and Spain hardly wished for any more of them than they had already. The coast of Africa offered, perhaps, the only tract of land whither he could have transplanted any more than a small number, and even this may not have appeared to him advisable, when he reflected on the revolt in Cyrenaica.

Another means Hadrian seems actually to have tried, and this was, gradually to extirpate the Jews as such by prohibiting circumcision, the characteristic sign of their nationality, and to amalgamate them with the other peoples of the empire. This prohibition is mentioned in a few words by Spartian as the cause of insurrection. He does not indeed fix the time; but it seems evident from his narration that the outbreak followed soon after.

XI. Another means contrived by Hadrian for keeping the Jews in subjection, was the restoration of Jerusalem. This city had always been considered one of the strongest fortified places; and was found to be so in the time of Titus. Surrounded

by mountains, itself built on a rocky promontory, almost completely isolated, forming the hill called Mount Zion, and that on which the lower city stood—the reduction of Jerusalem, in the then state of the art of besieging, was necessarily a very tedious operation, and to be effected chiefly by famine; so that Hadrian, who in the journey from Syria to Egypt was at least in its neighborhood, if he did not visit the place itself, must have been perfectly well convinced of the importance of this post. No wonder, therefore, that he determined to fortify it anew, and to send thither a colony, consisting indeed mostly of veterans, and sufficient for the defence of the city. Dion Cassius cites this determination of the Emperor, and the carrying it into execution, as a cause of the renewal of the insurrection. Eusebius states, on the contrary, that Hadrian did not send the colony till after the Jews were put down. It is not difficult to reconcile both these apparently contradictory testimonies, as Basnage has done already. The restoration of Jerusalem was not the work of a few months; but the labor, when begun, was interrupted by the revolt; and after this was suppressed, the labor was continued and completed.

But ere we proceed further, we must collect the few notices that have been preserved respecting the history of Jerusalem after the capture of the city by Titus. Witsius and Deyling are our guides.

It is true that Titus, after the burning of the Temple, which he would so willingly have spared, destroyed the city. But we cannot conceive this destruction to have been complete, although Josephus speaks of it in that sense. The same historian, however, informs us that Titus left standing the three large towns—Hippicus, Phasaël, and Mariamne—probably with the wall connecting them, and the western wall as a shelter for the cohorts whom he left in that neighborhood; and these must also have had dwellings for themselves, their families, and their followers. It is very probable, moreover, that Jews who had taken no part in the war had permission from the authorities, either expressed or understood, to settle among the ruins. A few survivors of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin remained there immediately after the destruction of the city; but it is certainly going too far, when Eusebius affirms that only half the city was destroyed by Titus, for this is at variance with all history, and we can only assume with

the greatest probability, that Jerusalem under Titus, Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan, was indeed no longer a city, but that it still possessed inhabitants beside the Roman garrison, and was much visited by pious Jews who came to mourn over their city and temple. Jerome also speaks of some remains of the city and temple in the fifty years that elapsed between its destruction by Titus and the war with Hadrian. With this, too, agrees what we read in ancient authors respecting the war with Hadrian and the second capture of Jerusalem. Were Occo the numismatist a trustworthy man, we might cite an ancient coin pretended to have been struck under Hadrian, and conclude therefrom that the name Jerusalem still continued under Hadrian, before he brought his colony thither, and that a temple of Jupiter was built in the city. But the coin spoken of has remained unknown to later numismatists; and it is not at all probable that such a one ever existed. The garrison of Jerusalem in its former condition, as they were neither a colony nor a municipium, could not have struck any coins; the erecting, too, of a temple to Jupiter upon the ruins, would certainly have been noticed by some Jewish or Christian author.

We confine ourselves, therefore, to the assumption that Hadrian, before the breaking out again of the war, had already begun to put his design of rebuilding and fortifying Jerusalem into execution. We remark only in addition, that he could do this without offending against the principles of the Roman-state religion ; since this only forbade the rebuilding of a city once in ruins in case the plough had passed over it, and the exauguration or exfoundation had been thereby rendered complete. We have no proof, however, that this ceremony did take place, after the capture by Titus. Josephus is entirely silent respecting it ; and Jerome only relates, according to the Jewish traditions which we also possess, that Titus Annius Rufus caused the plough to be drawn over the site of the Temple. But that is said to have been done in Hadrian's time. And even this is very doubtful, since we do not know that the Romans observed the practice with regard to single buildings. There was therefore nothing in the Emperor's way, in case he wished to rebuild Jerusalem. Moreover the Gracchi undertook to rebuild Carthage, which had been desecrated and laid waste with such solemnities ;—although at a short distance from the old

city ; and from the ruins of Punic Carthage that of the Romans sprang, the fourth capital of the world.

XII. But the restoration of their metropolis in the shape of a Pagan city was more than the Jews could bear. It is possible that they had for several years been silently preparing anew for the project of freeing themselves from the Roman dominion, and had long entered into secret compacts with the people of other Oriental regions, to whom the yoke of their masters was equally hateful, perhaps even with Parthian satraps, or with the great King himself. It is only the enduring contempt of the Romans for the oppressed people which renders it conceivable that they entertained no suspicions, and made no preparations, easily as they might have done so, to frustrate the plans of their enemies. They felt secure, probably because they had disarmed the Jews after suppressing their revolt. If Dion were to be believed, the latter devised a curious expedient for relieving themselves from this dilemma. It is said that they, meaning doubtless the numerous prisoners condemned by Trajan to the public works, were ordered to forge weapons for the Roman troops, but

that they intentionally made them bad, so that when rejected as unfit for service they could keep them themselves, and thus become possessed of a large quantity of arms. But this statement carries with it an aspect so fabulous, that it is inconceivable how Dion could have given it the least attention ; for how could Roman commanders, who necessarily knew well enough the spirit that animated the whole Jewish people, have suffered the workmen, and they too prisoners, to retain possession of arms, with which, bad as they might be, they could have wrought much mischief? and how could the superintendents of the manufacture have answered for such a proceeding? After the arms and accoutrements had repeatedly been found serviceable, resort would certainly have been had to compulsory measures, to force the workshops to deliver better articles. The truth of the matter can only be this, that the Jews found ways and means of procuring and secreting arms, which with their extensive trade, and that too with people not under the Roman sway, could not have been very difficult of accomplishment, especially if the whole nation were of one accord.

They kept themselves quiet notwithstanding, as

long as the Emperor remained in the East. He had spent the year A. D. 130 in Egypt. The following year he had travelled to Syria, and thence had proceeded to the western provinces; to which of them is not known. We first meet with him in A. D. 135, in Athens. The rebellion, however, broke out shortly after his departure from the East, as soon as he was considered far enough off, in the year of Rome 885, and 132 of the Christian era.

For the direction of a conspiracy so widely spread, and so accurately organized, and at the same time so profoundly secret, and so exceedingly active, a leader was indispensably requisite. And now it was that such a one made his appearance. How long he may have been already busy in secret, rests upon conjecture. The war, however, is so remarkable, as to make it incumbent on us to collect all the remaining accounts concerning him which are at all worthy of credit.

BAR-COCHBA.

XIII. This leader of the Jews is known to us by the name of Bar-cochba. He has remained unknown to the Roman historians. But the Chris-

tian authors, Eusebius, Jerome, and Orosius, make mention of him; and in the Jewish writers many scattered notices respecting him are preserved; which, however, are to be used with caution, as they are partly at variance with history and chronology, and in part are evidently fabulous. We shall therefore pay attention only to those writers from whom something may with probability be obtained for the elucidation of history; while of the others we shall give here and there a few specimens sufficient to show their inadmissibility. Titus had already permitted the Jews, after the destruction of their capital, to transfer their great Sanhedrim to Samaria. It was placed under the patriarch who was head of the Academy at Tiberias, and who, as well as the Babylonian patriarch, is said to have been of the tribe of Judah. His power extended over religious matters, and perhaps to deciding as arbitrator in civil disputes, when these were brought before him. But he can hardly have had the power of life and death, although he may have occasionally arrogated it to himself. He was always, notwithstanding the title of "Prince," which he bore, subject to the Roman authorities, and it will easily be perceived that this

could not have been otherwise. Still his prerogatives may have augmented by degrees, and may not have been as great at first as they afterwards became, when an important rank was likewise conferred upon him in the Roman empire. This was all done publicly. But the book "Zemach David" represents the matter as if the Jews, soon after the destruction of Jerusalem, and in spite of their victor, had made for themselves a sort of civil constitution. It assumes, that as early as under Domitian, Bar-cochba commenced his reign, and also died under him; and that this Bar-cochba was succeeded by his own son. The possibility of the thing, in itself considered, cannot be denied, if we take into account the spirit that animated the Jews; and with this might be connected the inquiries set on foot by Domitian after the family of David. But in case we could, with difficulty, make out the twenty-one years which this statement attributes to the dynasty of Bar-cochba, they would already have elapsed at the commencement of Hadrian's reign; and this cannot by any means be reconciled with history. Accordingly we cannot place the period at which Bar-cochba appeared earlier than toward the end of the reign of Trajan; and

will endeavor to make use of the account of his dynasty in the course of this narrative.

The number of adherents that he found, and the power that he exercised, render it very probable that he elevated himself by degrees. As King of Israel he had certainly nothing more to do than to imitate Eunus, the prince of the Sicilian slaves, and to spit fire out of his mouth from tow secretly lighted, in order to obtain for himself the admiration and reverence of the common people. This trick can only have prepared the way for him; his own talents must have helped him further on. He showed off no miracles before the learned; this he had no need to do; for, animated by national enthusiasm, they only sought a man who was able to lead them against the Romans.

Who he was, and what was his origin, is entirely unknown. If he gave himself out for the Messiah, he must have traced his pedigree back to David. But this is not fully proved. The name Bar-cochba, *Son of the Star*, under which he is known to history, was given him because either he or his adherents maintained that through him was fulfilled Balaam's prophecy (Numb. 24: 17) concerning the star that should rise out of Jacob. It

was not until his death, and the depressed condition of the Jews had proved how little he answered the great expectations formed of him, that he was called *Bar-coziba, Son of a Lie*. But whether he was the same whom Dion Cassius calls *Andreas*, and Eusebius, *Lucuas*, as Samuel Petit and Reimarus conjecture, we must leave undecided.

These assume two Bar-cochbas, the first under Trajan, the second under Hadrian: a hypothesis that stands in connection with the Rabbinical story of the dynasty of three successive princes. But if the account in the Arabic text of Abulpharagius be well founded, Lucuas had perished already in the war with Martius Turbo.

The Rabbins also, who ascribe to him the devastations in Cyrene, Egypt, and Cyprus, fix his epoch under Trajan. This we must leave undetermined.

The Jews flocked to him in multitudes, and anointed and crowned him King in the stronghold Bether; for that he had his seat in Jerusalem, is not known to the Jewish writers. That he gave himself out for the Messiah, is not completely proved, as has been already remarked. There are indeed stories to the effect that he could not support the proof to which he was put, as to whether

he, as was required of the Messiah according to an interpretation of the saying in Isaiah 11: 3, could distinguish the just from the unjust by the smell; and that Rabbi Akiba said of him, "This is the King Messiah." Maimonides, however, calls him merely the great King. Meanwhile whether he gave himself out for the Messiah, or not, he was regarded as such by the populace; for the Messiah alone could be their deliverer from the Roman yoke. He, however, was not expected to come from the nobility, but out of their own midst. Indeed according to his contemporary Trypho, whose dialogue with Justin Martyr we still possess, the Messiah was to be unknown when born, and should not even know himself or possess any power, until Elias should come to anoint him. But this Elias was most probably found in the person of Rabbi Akiba, although we do not know that it was he who anointed him in Bethser.

XIV. Akiba, who had not sprung from an Israelitish stock, but had gone over to Judaism of his own free choice, had become the most zealous and learned of the Rabbins, and glowed with the same hatred that fired all Israel against the Romans. He deduced his pedigree from Sisera, the general of

the Tyrian king Jabin, whom Deborah slew ; but his mother was a Jewess. His whole history is mythic, and copied after that of Moses. Forty years he was an untaught shepherd ; he then sued for the hand of his master's daughter, who, however, would marry none but a learned man. For four and twenty, or (according to others) forty years, he pursued his studies, and is said to have travelled much. He then began to teach, and served the people forty years long as superintendent of the schools, first at Lydda and then at Samaria. The number of his pupils was reckoned at 24,000. What God did not intrust to Moses, he is said to have revealed to him ; and hence he is regarded as the teacher of the unwritten law. The Mishna began with his collection ; and the book Jezirah, attributed to Abraham, but which is now lost, was one of the works in which he deposited his wisdom. No wonder, therefore, that they even sought for him in the Old Testament. The words of Moses, Ex. 4 : 13, "Lord, send whom thou wilt send," were applied to him. The passage in Job 28 : 10, "His eye seeth every precious thing," was understood of him ; and when at last he was executed by the Romans, some even referred to his

death the celebrated passage in the 52nd and 53rd chapters of Isaiah. He had seen the temple while yet in its splendor, and was so much the more eager for its restoration. The exalted dignity with which he was invested as associate of the patriarch, must have considerably augmented the great influence he already possessed, and at the same time it furnishes us with a plain indication that the patriarch in Palestine, Gamaliel, and the entire Sanhedrim, had an understanding with Bar-cochba; which also appears evident from the Jewish traditions of Bar-cochba's transactions with the wise men.

Akiba not only declared Bar-cochba to be King Messiah, with which the latter, even if he did not give himself out as such, was very well pleased, but he was also his most trusty counsellor, accompanying him every where, and on festival occasions assumed the office of his armor-bearer, by carrying before him his sword, the symbol of his dignity. That the old man of nearly six-score years could not have attended him in battle may easily be conjectured.

Bar-cochba seems also to have had a counsellor and assistant in Rabbi Tarphon, the successor of Akiba in the superintendence of the school at

Lydda. This name at least occurs in the history of this prince. Several other celebrated Rabbins, who took an active part in the war, and perished in it, will be mentioned in the sequel.

XV. Bar-cochba had at first the most complete success. In Palestine all the Jews united with him, and probably also the Samaritans, who at least are never mentioned as his enemies; this army must have been very considerable, although the statements of the Rabbins, who give it at 200,000 men, may be exaggerated; and he pushed forward his army beyond the borders of the country into Syria. After the conquest of Jerusalem by Titus, many Jews had fled to the Galilean cities, Sephoris and Tiberias; the descendants of these now fell upon the Pagan and Christian inhabitants, and committed great slaughter among them. After the war was concluded, and these cities once more set free, they testified their gratitude to the Emperor in a remarkable manner. The former took a new name, Diocæsarea Adriana, and the latter erected a temple which they called Adrianum.

Bar-cochba at first endeavored to draw the Christians of Palestine over to his side. But unable to prevail upon them to renounce their faith,

and to participate in the insurrection against the Romans, whom he treated with great barbarity, he speedily turned his rage against the Christians also in the most dreadful manner; as is testified by Justin Martyr, Eusebius, and Orosius.

No long time had elapsed, when he became master of Jerusalem. It is true that all writers are silent as to this circumstance; but the many testimonies to its recapture under Hadrian, place beyond all doubt the fact that the Jews had possession of the Holy City. It was probably the colony sent thither by the Roman Emperor that was driven out. A few incidents have been preserved, which appear to belong to this period.

The surrounding region was dreadfully desolated. Wolves and hyenas made inroads on the city itself. R. Akiba, therefore, according to the interpretation given by Samuel Petit to a passage in Aben Ezra, caused the celebration of the Passover to be transferred from Mount Nisan to Mount Ijor. This seems to have reference to the journeys usually undertaken at the time of the festival; for it is certain that every one might keep the feast of Easter in his own house, even though there should be no hindrance—such as continual rain-storms,

swollen streams, roads and bridges destroyed,—to render the journey to Jerusalem difficult. But festival-journeys presuppose that Jews were living in Jerusalem, and that divine worship was at least in some measure restored. Again, Dion relates that about this time Solomon's sepulchre tumbled down of itself—a prodigy that, considering the great antiquity of David's family burying-place, was very natural, but which he regarded as a bad omen. He mentions, indeed, that this happened before the breaking out of the war. But could the falling down of the old royal tomb presage any disaster to the Romans? It is probable, therefore, that the explanation did not occur till after the close of the war, and that Dion erred with regard to the time, and placed the event in a somewhat earlier period than that in which it actually took place. The Jews in Jerusalem might certainly, according to their way of thinking, have had reason to be terrified when they saw the tomb of David and Solomon, whose kingdom they were then about to restore, fall down without any visible cause.

XVI. To these proofs are to be added those furnished by numismatists. We know from both the Talmuds that coins were struck by Bar-cochba.

That of Jerusalem says expressly, "Samaritan money, as for instance that of Bar-coziba, does not defile," and that of Babylon mentions the coins themselves. Of these some have descended to our times. These are, namely, four silver coins; three of which belong undeniably to the Emperor Trajan, while the fourth is somewhat doubtful. On these the Roman impress can still be partially discerned, although they are stamped over again with a Samaritan inscription. It is known that such recoinage was practised in ancient as well as in modern times. This restamping of money, however, points infallibly to a war in which the Jews wished to have a coinage of their own. The name "Simon," which we find on two of them, is the name of the prince, and who can this have been but Bar-cochba? It is true, we nowhere read that he was called Simon; but from this silence there is nothing to be inferred.

Upon the examination of various coins and deductions from them by various writers, the following results are reached:—(1) That in the first outbreak of the insurrection, before the new Jewish government was organized, it was the practice to recoin money of the Roman currency. How long this may have lasted, cannot be determined.

(2) That Bar-cochba, however, as soon as he was able, coined his own money. The rich contributions of the Jews, that flowed to him from all quarters (for the Jews of Palestine were too poor to afford him much aid in this respect), procured him the requisite metal. This enabled him to strike coins of many kinds. (3) That the mint was at first, in the first two years, at Jerusalem, is at least very probable from the inscriptions—"To the freedom of Jerusalem," and "Jerusalem the holy," which alternate with the legends—"To the freedom or redemption of Ziōn," or "Israel." (4) That Bar-cochba either was called Simon, or that he assumed this name in memory of Simon Maccabeus, the deliverer of the Israelites from Syrian bondage, in token that he would deliver his people in like manner from that of the Romans; but that this name fell into oblivion because the people preferred to call him "the Son of the Star," which according to the prophecy had risen over Israel, although they afterward gave him the nickname of Bar-coziba.

It was probably one of his first concerns, when he saw himself in possession of Jerusalem, to restore the temple, of which at least the foundation walls and subterranean vaults were still in exist-

ence ; in addition to which an immense mass of building materials must have been found under the ruins. This is so much the more certain since Chrysostom, the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, etc., give accounts of it. Here, too, appears to belong a coin on which is seen a portico with four pillars ; in the middle hangs a lyre, a serpentine line runs beneath. Who does not here call to mind the brook Kedron ? On the other side stands a manna pot, and a leaf or a small fruit : the inscription is, "Simeon, prince of Jerusalem." The year, however, is wanting.

We may regard it then as fully proved that Bar-cochba had possession of Jerusalem, although the Jewish writers, the Samaritan Book of Joshua alone excepted, are entirely silent on the subject, and speak only of Bether. Was it perhaps too painful to their feelings to speak of a third destruction of their capital ? An occurrence so remarkable and affecting them so nearly, they can certainly never have forgotten. Or did they purposely exchange the name Jerusalem for Bether ? But then it is just as true that Bether likewise was captured.

How long Bar-cochba was master of Jerusalem, cannot be determined. From the fact that the coins of the two first years alone bear the inscriptions

above named, we can only draw the conjecture that his possession of the city may have lasted no longer than these first two years. It is true that the coins of the third and fourth years also mention Zion and Israel ; but then by Zion may be meant the nation itself, which always, even after it had lost Jerusalem, continued to hope for the recovery of its freedom.

XVII. At first, the Romans despised the insurrection. Yet they must soon have found that they had to do not with single mobs, but with the entire Jewish people. Not only was all Palestine in motion, but the spirit of disturbance spread in every direction where Jews were to be found in the Roman Empire, and broke out in covert or open attacks on the Romans, and the support that Barcochba received, proves of itself how deeply the nation was involved in his undertaking. Almost the whole world, says Dion, was set in motion by the revolt of the Jews. Lucius Quietus was at a distance ; and as Hadrian supposed that all was in perfect tranquillity, there were probably but few cohorts in the country. The insurrection accordingly proceeded so much the more quietly. The governor of Palestine, T. Rufus, could effect noth-

ing. The Romans were everywhere exposed to the attacks of the Jews; who, while they avoided coming to the decision of a battle, were exceedingly formidable in slight skirmishes, and could easily retire to the mountains. The revolt assumed a very serious character. At length the eyes of Hadrian were opened. He found that none of his generals in the east were capable of managing the affair. Fifty places fortified either previously or by themselves, and nine hundred and eighty-five open towns and villages, were in the possession of the Jews. They must therefore have spread themselves far beyond the bounds of Palestine proper, into Syria, and perhaps into Phenicia; and must also have obtained possession of the sea coast, which rendered it much easier for them to procure supplies. And now came the capture of Jerusalem, or of Elia, if the revolted city was already so called. Hadrian at length summoned from the extreme west the governor of Britain, Julius Severus, the greatest general of his time. Auxiliaries came from the remotest regions. The struggle was protracted and dangerous. As late as under Hadrian's grandsons, Marcus Aurelius and Verus, Fronto speaks of it, and places this struggle on a parallel with the Par-

thian and British wars. The Jews were very numerous, and fought with the courage of despair. Necessity developed talent. Perhaps, too, they obtained leaders from the kingdom of Parthia. Julius Severus attacked single bodies of troops, and cut off their supplies, doubtless by taking possession of the roads and passes; for Palestine, thinly populated as it was, could by no means furnish support to two hostile armies, and yet the Jews were able to keep up the war for four years. Consequently in order to carry it on so long, they must have been able to obtain assistance and supplies by ways which the Romans could not for a long time block up. We are made acquainted in the history of the first Jewish war with the glens and mountain caves that rendered the subjugation of Palestine so difficult to the Romans. These, and the subterranean passages intersecting each other, which possessed many outlets, and obtained air as well as light through openings from above, they now made use of, partly as hiding-places from which they made attacks on the Romans, and partly as strongholds to protect themselves; and when it was necessary, they threw up walls in addition for their better defence. Caves and subterranean passages of this kind are still to

be seen in the desolated portions of Palestine; and the writers of travels speak of them with wonder.

XVIII. Two years appear to have been passed by the Romans in clearing the region about Jerusalem before they could think of besieging the city. Its capture, however, does not admit of a doubt, though the Rabbins are silent in respect to it. So was Josephus in respect to Christ. It is testified by Appian and by many other authorities. The age which was now passing, however, was one in which so little that was done was made matter of record, that they who were unfriendly to an event thought it the most sure method of consigning to oblivion whatever they wished to be unknown, to neglect to record it. This view, of course, takes for granted the spuriousness of that passage in Josephus in which he is made to bear testimony to the person and character of Christ. A far more popular method with the historians of that age, especially among the Jews, was to represent things as they wished to have them, and in the most extravagant manner possible—a practice from which the historian just named cannot be regarded as free. Jerusalem was therefore demolished; and that the Jews might know that they were never to rebuild

it, the plough-share was pushed over the foundations of the Temple.

Of Bar-cochba's fate we have no positive knowledge. One event only is recorded of him—that he caused one Rabbi Tryphon to be put to death because he counselled a surrender. This, however, cannot be the Tryphon with whom Justin held his well-known dialogue, for it is known that he survived the war, being mentioned in the dialogue relating to the close of the war. Of the death of the above-named R. Tryphon, nothing is related by the Rabbins, though they often make mention of him.

The Talmud assigns to the reign of Bar-cochba the mysterious number so frequently met with in the Scriptures—"three years and a half" (of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter). Notwithstanding the mortification of the Jews, they have made Hadrian to say, on receiving intelligence of this man's death—"had this man not been killed by his God, no one would have been able to do him harm."

Jerusalem fell for the last time from the keeping of the Jews A. D. 119, or forty-nine years after its demolition by Titus Vespasian, and only eighty

years after the declaration of our Lord, recorded by all the Evangelists—"Verily I say unto you that this generation shall not pass away till all these things be fulfilled." Others have made the date of its destruction twelve or fifteen years later, which does not in any measure affect the meaning of our Lord's declaration above, which seems to be only another method of saying—"The man is born who is to witness the final and complete overthrow of the Jewish state and nation."

XIX. As we have seen, Jerusalem was now taken ; but there was still a stronghold in the hands of the Jews, into which a strong force must have previously thrown themselves ; since we cannot suppose that, on the surrender of Jerusalem, the Roman army granted a free retreat thither to a great body of fugitives. But, doubtless, all that could would naturally make their way to the stronghold Bether. Such, according to Eusebius, was the name of this fortress, situated near Jerusalem. Its site is not fully determined, nor will it be, till, at some future time a more exact investigation of its ruins shall bring it to light. We have no knowledge of its location further than that which is given us by the historian last named, who places it in the

vicinity of Jerusalem, and describes it as very strong. And it must have been of great extent; as a great multitude of people found protection in it. Probably also it was situated on a hill, as it held out a long time against a siege. According to the Rabbins, it was an immense city, having four or five hundred synagogues, and other things equal. This is probably an exaggeration.

At last the besieged were subdued by hunger and thirst, as well as by the attacks of the Romans. The city was captured with great bloodshed towards the end of the 18th year of Hadrian's reign, in the year of Rome 888, and of our Lord 135. Jewish authors relate that the horses had to wade up to their mouths in blood. Who does not recall the terrible declaration in the Apocalypse—"blood up to the horses' bridles"? It is further stated by these same authors that the blood of the men who fell rolled along in its current stones of four pounds weight; that the corpses of the slain did not undergo putrefaction, and that Hadrian caused his vineyard, which was 15 Roman miles square, to be fenced in with them.

The terrible character of this war may be apprehended from the fact that 50 strongholds, and 985

towns and villages fell into the hands of the Romans ; their inhabitants were either given to the sword, or driven into slavery never to be redeemed. This must have required a long interval. The closing scene of the war appears to have lasted *three and a half years*. In this Jerome and the Talmud coincide.

XX. It is a most singular fact, however, that neither in the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, nor in this last and most fatal war of the Jews, was there any slaughter of the Christians. All history is positive on this point ; whether the writer knew anything or not, of the assurances given by our Lord that he would send forth his angels and they would gather his elect from every quarter where they could be found, if he *noticed* the Christians that were found among the Jews (and there were undoubtedly thousands, as is intimated in the Apocalypse, in the sealing of the 144 thousand) he always distinctly notices their timely withdrawal from the place of strife, and safe arrival in places where the sword could not devour.

Perhaps it will not be entirely out of place here to suggest that this was undoubtedly a specific and special arrangement of God our Saviour, whereby

he signified to the world the scenes of his coming at the last great day. Then, as at the period we are contemplating, "he shall separate the righteous from the wicked, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats; and these, the goats (representing the sinner), shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal."

XXI. We return to our narrative. Many of the Rabbins perished at the taking of Bether, some for one cause, and some for another; but the number of these, as of every class, was so great as to defy specification. Of the Jews that perished in those fearful battles, Dion Cassius says there were 580,000, while those who perished by hunger, pestilence, and the miseries of war, could not be calculated. Jewish accounts give the number that Hadrian killed at four millions. In Alexandria he is said to have destroyed twice as many as came out of Egypt under Moses, viz., six millions. This amount is evidently an exaggeration. But the number of the Romans that suffered in this war may easily have amounted to over two millions.

XXII. At length the Jews were reduced to complete subjection. Palestine had also become a desert. Prisoners were sold for slaves in countless

multitudes. The slave market at the Terebinth tree (as Jerome says) near Hebron, where Abraham had dwelt, was glutted, so that multitudes were shipped to Egypt, of whom many perished by the way, with hunger, fatigue or shipwreck, while thousands were murdered by the heathen.

Thus was this unhappy people severely punished for their bold, renewed, but indiscreet attempt to recover their freedom. No wonder that even in the following centuries they continued to mourn over the capture of Bether, as they had over that of Jerusalem by Titus, and that in their lamentations Hadrian and Nebuchadnezzar are mentioned with equal abhorrence. Titus, on the contrary, was far from being detested by the Jews in a like degree. Appian relates that the Emperor Hadrian imposed on the Jews a poll tax which must be distinguished from that to Jupiter Capitolinus. But this may have served as a partial indemnification for the expenses of the war.

XXIII. It was now (A. D. 136) that Jerusalem, no longer a Jewish but a Roman city, received the new name of *Colonia Ælia Capitolina*—Ælia after the first name of its founder Ælius Hadrianus, and Capitolina in honor of the god to whom it was

now dedicated, and whose temple was built on the site where that of the Jews had formerly stood. This was indeed "the abomination of desolation" spoken of by Daniel, standing where it ought not. Thus, too, a temple to Jupiter in the ancient Sichem occupied the place of the Samaritan sanctuary on Mount Gerizim, although perhaps at a somewhat later period. Hadrian adorned his colony with magnificent buildings, among the rest a theatre, out of the ruins of the Temple and of other great works.

XXIV. *Ælia Capitolina*, however, did not attain to the former Jerusalem. Mount Zion, which now lay in ruins, and was used for gardens and tillage, was not included within the walls. That the city was enlarged on the west, and that Calvary among other places was brought within its circuit, is a fable of later date. Hadrian's *Ælia* is the Jerusalem of the Crusaders and of the Turks; and its limits have been assigned by nature herself. The name *Ælia* was retained long after in the Christian ages, together with the ancient one; which last was applied again to the city from Constantine's time onwards, and gradually supplanted the other.

Over the gate that led to Bethlehem, Hadrian

caused a swine to be sculptured in relief on the wall; perhaps with the view of rendering the new city still more odious to the Jews; since their refraining from the flesh of that animal was a subject of derision among the Romans. The swine, however, belongs also to the *signa militaria* of the Roman army, and was the fifth in rank, in honor of the sow that Æneas found at the place where Lavinium was to be built. We see it on one of Hadrian's coins.

It was an object of importance with the Emperor to attract a large number of inhabitants to his new city. Accordingly, he provided also for their religious worship. That great honor was shown to Jupiter Capitolinus, is a matter of course. He was indeed regarded as the guardian deity of the city. His temple, on the site where that of Solomon formerly stood, is mentioned by Dion Cassius. Jerome also speaks of a statue of Jupiter at the place of the resurrection. But the sepulchre of Christ must certainly have been destroyed in the siege under Titus. Golgotha also, according to Sozomon, was surrounded by the Pagans with a wall, and filled up with stones, and on it placed a temple of Venus, whose image in marble is men-

tioned by Jerome. This was probably an Astarte, for the Phenicians ; and if there stood also in this temple, as Paulinus of Nola reports, an image of Jupiter, it was doubtless a Phenician Baal, who indeed was not unfrequently adored as the solar Deity in the same temple with the queen of heaven (Astarte). A temple to Serapis seems to have been erected by Hadrian for the Egyptians. But, excepting the adoration of Jupiter, the Phenician worship must have been the predominating one in the city and in the country round about ; and hence it was that the cave in Bethlehem, in which, according to tradition, Christ was born, was dedicated to Adonis ; yet Hadrian can hardly have conceived the idea of a dying God, and have represented to himself Adonis as a mystical being having any reference to Christ. He was, moreover, no enemy or persecutor of the Christians. Had he not possessed the conviction that the Jews and Christians differed essentially from each other, he would have prohibited the Christians as strictly as the Jews from approaching Jerusalem. This, however, was not done ; and he seems even to have observed with satisfaction that the Nazarene community, who had retired to Pella in the time of Vespasian, now

took up their abode in his new city, together with the Romans and the Phenicians.

XXV. The rigorous treatment to which the Jews were subjected by their Roman masters was not a little embittered by the fact, that while they themselves were excluded from the Jerusalem that remained, the Christians, even those who had once fled from it, were permitted to return and to dwell in safety. Hadrian forbade them access to it under pain of death. This is testified to by Justin Martyr, Aristo of Pella in Eusebius, Tertullian, Eusebius himself, and Jerome. The prohibition was still in force in Tertullian's time, in the beginning of the third century. Nay, the unhappy people dared not even to venture into the neighborhood of Jerusalem, not even to look upon and lament over the ruins of their sanctuary from a distance. Guards, too, were stationed to prevent their entering. Such strong measures were of course intended to last only for a while. But they were certainly renewed, and perhaps increased in severity, as often as the Jews gave new cause for suspicion, or raised new disturbances. In the age of Constantine, however, the Jews received permission to approach the city within a certain distance, so that they could see it

from the surrounding mountains. But none ventured to enter it, or take up his abode there. At length they were allowed to come to Jerusalem once a year, on the anniversary of the day when Titus took the city, and to weep over the ruins of the Temple. Men and women, often feeble and aged persons, flocked there together in rent garments of mourning, and were forced to purchase permission from the Roman guards to weep undisturbed. At a later period, when the Jews were more equitably treated, they obtained leave, either expressed or understood, to reside in Jerusalem. Twice, however, they were driven forth by Constantine and by Heraclius; and it was not until under the dominion of the Saracens, to whom the city was no less holy, that its gates were again opened to the posterity of its former inhabitants.

XXVI. But with the taking of Bethel all disturbances among the Jews do not yet appear to have been suppressed. A few words of Capitolinus allude to a new attempt in the first years of the reign of Antoninus Pius. By means of his governors and lieutenants, says this biographer, he quelled the rebellious Jews. He also states that disturbances had broken out in several provinces; for in-

stance also in Achaia and Egypt. At the solicitation of the Jews, Antonine had softened the rigor of Hadrian's laws, and permitted the circumcision of their children; but he forbade them to incorporate strangers in this way among their own people. Their Sanhedrim had been established anew, and history names several of their patriarchs who lived under Antonine and his successors.

Marcus Aurelius and Verus also at first gave them proofs of favor, and according to Ulpian again granted them access to posts of honor. But when a new Parthian war broke out, the Jews living in the East, and hence probably those in Mesopotamia under Parthian rule, united themselves to the hereditary enemies of the Roman Empire, and with them became again subject to the hated yoke of the Romans. The Emperor, on his journey through Syria to Egypt, renewed Hadrian's laws against them; though in the remote oriental provinces they were never enforced.

In the early part of the reign of Severus nothing was heard of them. They appear not to have been involved in the war with Severus. We have an account that Severus, in his journey through Palestine, prohibited an accession to Juda-

ism under severe penalties. Consequently the Jews must have gone on making proselytes, in spite of all former laws. The same prohibition was issued, by command of the Emperor, respecting the Christians, and thus he gave rise to a persecution which was particularly vehement in Alexandria and in Africa, and destroyed many martyrs, among others, Leonidas, the father of Origen, and somewhat later, Felicitas and Perpetua. In the sequel Severus became again more favorable to the Jews. Their money opened his heart to them; but at the same time he did not spare their purses, and they were obliged afterwards, as before, to pay the taxes imposed on them. They were, however, regarded as Roman citizens, were capable of holding office, and of being employed in public business; and possessed even the right of declining such offices as were attended with too great expense, e.g. municipal magistracies. They consequently felt deep gratitude to the Emperor; and applied to him, as they had previously done to Marcus Aurelius, the words of Scripture: "now when they fall, they shall be holpen with a little help."

PART III.

HERE then we have a history, fragmentary we admit, which throws a world of light on an utterly dark and hitherto inexplicable period in the existence of the Jews. At their disappearance from the theatre of the world, their numbers, as we have seen, were sufficient to enable them to rank high among the nations of the earth. Their power as a warlike people was not to be despised; their knowledge in arts and science was fully equal to their standing in other respects; and the influence of their religion was felt wherever they were known.

It is scarcely to be supposed, therefore, that such a nation should make its exit from the world without leaving some memorial of its greatness, which neither time nor accident could erase. The wonder is that there should be so little left of them as there evidently is, or as we have found. But we are to remember that the world was leagued against them. Men, that differed on every

other subject, agreed in this, their hatred of the Jews. In fact that feeling has not yet faded from the world.

Let us now refer to the latter part of the history which has been quoted—to the reign of Hadrian—the man ordained of God to lay the heaviest stripes upon God's unbelieving and wicked people. With a view to secure the favor of the nation, and make them satisfied with their condition, he rebuilds the temple which had been again demolished, but does not restore the worship which the Jews had been accustomed to witness there. He proposes to rebuild the whole city, but it must be a Pagan city, and its temple must have nothing of Christ in it, or any thing else which would serve to revive in the mind of the worshipper the memory of those days when the true God was worshipped there.

He begins by disarming the whole people. They cannot of course misunderstand that, and accordingly arrange their affairs to meet the gathering storm. Those employed by the Emperor to fabricate weapons of war, which, as they well knew, were to be employed against themselves, wrought in every way to deceive, and to make their masters

believe they were honest and upright in their intentions, while they were taking the most direct measures to provide for their own safety and defence.

The Jews, as a nation, though scattered over almost the known world, are now ready for a general revolt. It is to be the last act in the national drama. "The abomination that maketh desolate had long since been set up," i. e. "standing in the holy place"; "men's hearts began to fail them for fear, and for looking at the evils which were gathering over the pathway of the nation" once so highly favored of Heaven.

The Jews lack only a leader—a man to head the lost cause. Such a one is soon found in the person of Bar-cochba—"the Son of a Star." He thus designates himself in order to satisfy the Jews that he is "the star" which Balaam saw in the dim distant future, "which was to arise in Jacob," and utterly overwhelm the tents of his enemies. Bar-cochba succeeded in inspiring the Jews with unlimited confidence in him as the Heaven-appointed leader and Saviour of his people: a confidence, however, which was destined to be cruelly betrayed. Those "wars and rumors of wars" which were foretold by the Saviour, and which

were to be regarded as indisputable tokens of the final catastrophe, began to rage in all the regions to which the Jews had fled. Desolation every where appears; earth itself rocks with the mountainous evils that are falling upon that generation. Stars fall from heaven; i. e. the lesser lights in the church are seen departing from it, and leaving it a prey to its enemies. This revolt is so far successful that the Jews recover possession of Jerusalem, and at once proceed to re-establish their religion and their laws. The insurrection has so far spread, and so thoroughly has it penetrated the vast multitudes of the Jews, that they have recovered fifty strongholds, and regained possession of 989 villages and open towns. Bar-cochba is every where victorious; it would almost seem that he was clothed with power from heaven; but the end draweth nigh. Hadrian, learning of the revolt, and of the slaughter made by the Jews, has sent for his victorious general Severus, who was at that time employed with the Picts and Scots, who flies with the velocity of an arrow to his master at Rome, there to receive command from him to repair at once to Palestine and put down the rebellion, cost what it may, whether of treasure

or of blood. "Let him that readeth understand." Here is undoubtedly "the he-goat" mentioned in Daniel 8:5, "who was seen coming from the west, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground." This simply denotes the celerity with which he came. He smites the ram (Babylon), "casting him down to the ground, stamping him with the dust, so that none could deliver the ram out of his hands." Here is the prophetic account, undoubtedly, of the battle of "Gog and Magog" (Rev 20:8), which lasted "three years and a half,"—"forty and two months,"—ending in the almost utter annihilation of the Jews, and fully that of the leader of the insurrection.

"Bethel," as it is called in every place where it is recorded, is the last place where the Jews made a stand. This is undoubtedly the place which is called Armageddon (Rev. 16: 16), properly "Har-mageddon," or "the mount of slaughter." It is written as in the first spelling by the Apocalyptist, so that no one but a Jew could understand what place was referred to. Bethel is unquestionably the place, or city, to which the Jews fled in such numbers as to render it utterly impossible for them to sustain life but a few days

at most. They fell an easy prey to Roman rapacity, and the all-devouring sword. Dion Cassius affirms that nearly 600,000 Jews perished here, while Jewish historians place the number much higher. Probably not less than four millions of those unhappy people perished during the struggle which is said to have lasted "forty and two months," or "three years and a half."

Thus virtually perished the Jewish commonwealth; nothing remained but lacerated fragments, which were scattered over the face of the earth, never to be gathered again till the final coming of Christ, which is to take place when he is to come again to raise the dead and judge the world.

Order reigns in Palestine, but it is the order of desolation; the land enjoys her sabbaths, but they are the sabbaths that follow in the train of annihilating warfare. Jerusalem is rebuilt by her conquerors, but it is the Jerusalem of the bloody Saracen and Turk,—with a swine sculptured over the gate of Bethlehem, as a memorial of that hatred which the unhappy descendants of Abraham had incurred, and which is destined to remain till they shall acknowledge Him who "bore their griefs and carried their sorrows." Hadrian's vic-

torious general can now return to Rome, and report to his master that he will have no further trouble with the Jews. The city for which they had fought had perished; its very name was almost forgotten.

We have occupied too much time, perhaps, in recapitulating the incidents of that history which we have quoted, but its startling events are of such importance to the right understanding of the word of God, and to the work we have undertaken, as to require no apology; for it is not to be denied that the world for at least fifteen centuries felt the need of this light. It is, moreover, not to be credited, that the Lord Jesus Christ, having taken such care to inform his disciples of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, would subsequently say nothing of another destruction so soon to follow, which, in respect to its consequences, should as far transcend that, as the destruction of the nation transcends that of its chief city.

But Second Adventism involves this incredible position. It supposes that our Lord, in his conversation with the disciples on the Mount of Olives, spoke of one and the same event after Matt. 26 : 28, as before. In the next verse he says: "Immedi-

ately *after* the tribulation of those days.” What days? Why those of course to which he had just been directing their attention—days in which their venerated temple should be destroyed. “Immediately *after* these the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light; the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heaven shall be shaken.”

Let it not be overlooked that the above passage is a quotation from the prophecy of Isaiah (13:10)—a quotation made by our Lord Jesus Christ himself. We think it will not be contended by any man, nor even thought, that He whose spirit inspired the Scriptures, did not know how to apply them, or to what even they referred. Here is the prophet Isaiah, under the guidance of the Spirit of inspiration describing “the day of the Lord.” He says it shall be preceded by the darkened sun, and obscured moon, falling stars, etc., and Christ appears to explain that prophecy. He informs the disciples, and through them the world itself, that those events shall “immediately” *follow* those to which he had just referred; to wit, the destruction of the temple. Now, what disposal can be made of the terms we have been considering,

if Christ, in what follows, spoke only of one event—the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem by Titus?

Dr. Robinson felt this difficulty for years. He sees no consistency whatever in the supposition we have been opposing. Nor would he adopt the exegesis of De Wette and of other Universalists, viz., that what follows v. 29 refers to the day of judgment, and that, by the day of judgment, simply and only the destruction of Jerusalem was meant. He felt that it was worse than absurd to adopt a theory which would make the Judge himself guilty of counselling men, even his own elect, as to how they might shun the judgment. “Two shall be in the field; the one shall be taken, and the other left.” He felt, as every intelligent man feels, that *both* will go to the judgment, if one does.

Professor Stuart felt the same difficulty. Thousands have felt it. Dr Robinson informs us how and where he himself obtained light. It was in the history we have just quoted,—furnishing a rational and consistent account of the manner in which the nation of the Jews made their exit from among the nations of the earth, and leaving the

subject of Christ's coming to judge the world free from those difficulties which have been felt in all ages of the church ; also harmonizing the statements of the Evangelists with the almost universally accepted doctrine, that the next *personal* coming of Christ would be to raise the dead and judge the world. It is not strange, therefore, that Dr. Robinson embraced this view, and with great diligence labored to set forth the theory which it sustains as alone satisfactory. And the writer of this volume, without a single misgiving, adopts the same. He has no manner of doubt that the Lord Jesus, after answering the inquiries of the disciples, so far as it was proper for him to do, in respect to the first catastrophe, moves directly forward to make known *another*, and a more formidable event, which was to be announced by certain signs "immediately after the tribulations of those days," to which he at first referred ; and that he fixed with sufficient distinctness the time beyond which his enemies, the unbelieving Jews, need not dream of deliverance.

The Bible argument is, of course, our great reliance. Accordingly I propose to close the argument in this part of the discussion, by introduc-

ing the testimony of the Bible, as it is given us by the Evangelists themselves. And here I take the liberty of presenting this scriptural argument in the words of that close thinker and logical reasoner, Dr Edward Robinson, to whom I have so often alluded. They are to be found in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for 1843, a work of which he was at that time the able editor.

THE COMING OF CHRIST.

AS ANNOUNCED IN MATT. 24: 29-31.

OUR Lord had taken his final leave of the temple and its courts; and in departing had uttered over it the dread prediction, soon to be so fearfully accomplished: "Verily, I say unto you, there shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down." Retiring with his disciples to the Mount of Olives, he seated himself upon the heights over against the temple, where its courts and edifices, as well as the whole city, were spread out as on a map before him. Here, four of the disciples propose to him privately the following inquiry (according to Matt. 24: 3): "Tell us when shall these things be? and what

the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?" According to Mark 13: 4—"Tell us when shall these things be? and what the sign when all these things shall be fulfilled?" According to Luke 21: 7—"Master, but when shall these things be, and what the sign when these things shall come to pass?"

As the manner in which this inquiry is to be understood has some bearing upon the main question before us, a few words may here be necessary, in order to set the matter in a proper light. The point to be considered is: To what events was the inquiry of the disciples directed?

Had we only the accounts of Mark and Luke, no difficulty whatever could here arise. They both refer simply and solely to *these things*: that is, the things first spoken by our Lord in respect to the temple—his emphatic annunciation of its total destruction. Why ask, "When shall *these things* be, and what the sign when all *these things* shall be fulfilled, or come to pass?" This inquiry, then, taken by itself, cannot possibly be referred to any thing but the destruction of the temple: an idea which would naturally connect itself in the minds of the disciples, as it was afterwards connected in

fact, with the siege and overthrow of the Holy City.

But Matthew relates the question in a different form : “ When shall these things be, and of the end of the world ? ” Here *these things* in the first clause are necessarily the same things as before in Mark and Luke, and can refer only to the destruction of the temple and city. But the coming of our Lord and “ the end of the world,” in the last clause—do these have respect to the same events ? or are they to be regarded as an additional inquiry, referring to that awful day, when the Lord will come to final judgment, and “ the earth and the works that are therein shall be burned up ? ” In other words, did the “ coming ” of our Lord here have respect, in the minds of the inquiring disciples, to the destruction of the temple and Jerusalem, or to the judgment of the last great day ?

Perhaps a correct answer to this question would be, that the disciples, in their own minds, referred distinctly to neither of these events. They obviously had not, at the time, any definite and distinct notions of that terrible overthrow and subversion of the Jewish people which was so soon to take place. They were also equally ignorant in respect

to the awful events which are to be the accompaniments of the day of judgment and the end of the world. We cannot suppose nor admit that the inquiry, as Matthew puts it, suggested to their minds the same ideas, nor events of the same character, as the same language, taken by itself, would now suggest to us under the full light of a completed revelation. The Holy Spirit had not yet been given, and even our Lord's most favored disciples still groped in comparative darkness. A glance at their training and peculiar expectations may perhaps enable us to perceive, with some degree of distinctness, what they did intend to express by the terms of their inquiry.

The expectation of a Messiah to come, which had long been cherished by the Jewish people, had its foundation in the prophecies of the Old Testament; where the coming of the Messiah, his triumphs and his reign, are foretold in the language of poetic fervor and sublimity; especially in the writings of Isaiah and Daniel. His reign is there figuratively described as a golden age, when the true religion, and with it the Jewish throne and theocracy, should be re-established in more than their pristine splendor and purity, and universal

peace and happiness should consequently prevail. All this was doubtless to be understood in a spiritual sense. It was the Redeemer's spiritual kingdom that was thus foreshadowed,—that “mystery” of God which had been kept “hid from ages,” but was now to be revealed to the saints. And so indeed the devout Jews of our Saviour's time, such as Zacharias, Simeon, Anna, Joseph, appear to have received it. But the Jewish people at large gave to these prophecies a temporal meaning. They expected a Messiah who should come in the clouds of heaven; and, as king of the Jewish nation, should restore the ancient religion and worship, reform the corrupt morals of the people, make expiation for their sins, deliver them from the yoke of foreign dominion, exalt them to a preëminence over all other nations, and at length reign over the whole earth in peace and glory. A main idea in this mode of representation, was “the restitution of all things” to the Hebrew nation, and their exaltation to privileges and a rank above the nations of the earth. Their then present condition of humiliation and sorrow was to cease, and to be succeeded by a state of power and glory which should never end. The world (so to speak) was to be turned upside

down ; principalities and thrones were to be cast to the ground, and those who dwelt on dung-hills were to be exalted. The coming of the expected Messiah in solemn pomp and glory was to be the signal for these revolutions,—the downfall of the present order of things, and the introduction of the new. The world, as it then was, and now is, was to come to an end ; and then all things would become new.

That even our Lord's twelve apostles were deeply imbued with these views and expectations of a temporal Prince and Saviour, as long as Jesus lived, and for a time even after his resurrection,—until, indeed, the giving of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost,—is apparent from every part of the sacred narrative. They were still groping in ignorance and darkness ; they received Jesus with sincere faith as the promised Messiah ; but as to the true character of himself and of his kingdom they had but imperfect conceptions. Their Master often had occasion to rebuke them for their “little faith ;” he unfolded to them only gradually the deeper mysteries pertaining to his Gospel ; and it was only on the very last evening of his intercourse with them, and after the institution of the Holy

Supper, that he spoke openly to them of his departure (John, 14:16). Even then they were dull of apprehension; so that our Lord declares them still incapable of receiving the instruction which he would gladly communicate: "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." No wonder, then, that they looked upon him as one who was about to become a glorious Prince, and reign over the whole earth. In the spirit of this temporal and national expectation, the two disciples, on their way to Emmaus, declared: "We trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel;" and in the same spirit, after his resurrection, the disciples, when they had come together, "asked of him, saying, Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?"

Such then being the state of knowledge and of expectation in the minds of the disciples at the time of our Lord's passion, it is easy to see that the above inquiry, made by them only a few days earlier, must be judged of and interpreted in accordance with this state of mind and feeling. They awaited a temporal exaltation of their Lord and Master, and a restitution of preëminency and

glory to the Jewish people; the introduction of this new state would be his "coming," and with this they now connected the overthrow of the temple and city, which he had just predicted. His "coming" and the "end of the world," were therefore in their minds to be coeval and identical with "the end" of the then present state of humiliation and depression, and with the commencement of the new and glorious era of the Messiah's temporal reign.

The question, therefore, as reported by Matthew, although it affords us a deeper insight into the views and feelings of the disciples than as given by Mark and Luke, yet does not differ in its general import from the specifications of the two latter Evangelists.

Does our Lord answer the inquiry of his disciples? Not directly. He first warns them of many deceivers who shall arise. He speaks of famine, pestilence, and earthquakes, as about to occur; which seem here, as elsewhere, to be emblems of great civil commotions. He warns his followers that they will be exposed to danger, and persecutions on every side; from which, if they endure them with the patience of faith and hope, they shall

be delivered. The particular time when these dangers shall break forth upon them will be when they "shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place." Instead of this expression, and explanatory of it, Luke points to the time when they "shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies." Then they may know "that the desolation thereof is nigh." Then will be the time for every one to save himself by flight ;—then will the eagles be gathered together over the carcass ; "and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled."

In close and direct connection with this representation, follows, in Matthew, the passage now more immediately to be considered. Here let the reader turn to Matt. 24 : 29-31, and also to the parallel verses of Mark and Luke (Mark 13 : 24-27, and Luke 21 : 24-28), in which the connection is equally close and direct ; and which have an important bearing upon the right interpretation of the language of Matthew.

After these passages, our Lord goes on, as reported by all three of the Evangelists, to introduce the similitude of the fig-tree putting forth its buds

and leaves as the harbinger of summer. In like manner the disciples, when they shall see all these things taking place, may "know that it (the coming ?) is near, even at the door ;" or, as Luke more definitely expresses it, they may "know that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand." Then follows immediately a most important designation of time, in which the three Evangelists accord verbatim in the original : "VERILY I SAY UNTO YOU, THIS GENERATION SHALL NOT PASS AWAY, TILL ALL THESE THINGS BE FULFILLED." (Matt. 24 : 32-34 ; Mark 13 : 28-30 ; Luke 21 : 29-32.)

The subject is now before the reader, and the question to be considered is—whether the language of Matthew in the passage above quoted is to be referred to the judgment of the last great day, or rather to the then impending destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish nation ? It is a question on which good men have ever differed ; and on which, perhaps, entire unity of opinion is not to be expected, until the night of darkness and ignorance in which we are here enveloped shall be chased away by the morn of pure light and perfect knowledge.

It is conceded by all, I believe, that the representation, as far as to the end of the 28th verse of

Matthew, and in the parallel verses of the other Evangelists, applies solely to the overthrow of Jerusalem. Or, if there be still those who would refer any portion of these preceding verses to the judgment day, it seems to me that they must first show that "the abomination of desolation," spoken of by Matthew and Luke, has nothing to do with the "compassing of Jerusalem with armies," mentioned in the same connection by Luke ; and then, further, that all these things could have no connection with the "treading down" of Jerusalem by the Gentiles, which Luke goes on to speak of as the result of these antecedent circumstances. This, however, cannot well be shown without disregarding every rule of interpretation, and without violating the very first principles of language.

But with the 29th verse a new specification of time is introduced. "*Immediately after* the affliction of those days" shall appear the harbingers of our Lord's coming ; and these are depicted in language which elsewhere, it is said, is employed only to describe his coming to the final judgment. (See Matt. 25 : 3-19, also Matt. 13 : 40-41). The "coming" here meant, is then to be *subsequent* to the downfall of Jerusalem, and can therefore only mean

the coming of the Messiah in his kingdom at the judgment day. This opinion is, perhaps, at the present time the most prevalent one among commentators, and even with those whose views in other respects have little in common,—as in the cases of Olshausen and De Wette.

But on the other hand, it is replied that the phrase, "*immediately after*" indicates a very close connection of this "coming" of our Lord with the preceding events; and the Saviour himself goes on to declare, that "this generation shall not pass away, till all these things be fulfilled." We must then assume, it is said, that the prediction had its fulfilment within a period not long subsequent to our Lord's ministry; or, if it is to be referred to the day of judgment, then we must admit that our Lord was in error, inasmuch as he here foretold that it would take place "*immediately after*"—the downfall of Jerusalem. For these reasons many commentators have understood the language as applicable only to the destruction of the Holy City; forgetting, apparently, that the very expression which they urge against a remote future application, is equally stringent against an exclusive reference to the latter catastrophe.

It is very obvious that both of these different opinions cannot be true, while it is also very possible that both of them may be more or less wrong. Before proceeding to develop the manner in which the subject has presented itself to my own mind, it will be necessary to examine the language of the prediction and the attendant circumstances, and to bring into view some other preliminary considerations. All this may be best done under a number of heads, as follows :

I. The destruction of Jerusalem was the topic of our Lord's discourse with his disciples, and the subject of his predictions at the temple and on the Mount of Olives, as related by Matthew 24: 1-28 inclusive; and also by Mark and Luke in the parallel verses. This point has been already sufficiently considered, and requires here no further elucidation.

II. The "coming" foretold in verse 29-31 of Matthew, was to be subsequent to the time of the "abomination" of desolation and the compassing of Jerusalem by armies, and also to the "treading down" of the city by the Gentiles. By this latter phrase is usually and rightly understood the capture and destruction of the city by Titus, as related by

Josephus. This same event is doubtless shadowed forth in the language of Matthew—"For wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together;" not indeed through any verbal allusion to the Roman eagles, as some assume, but in the general application of a proverbial expression, viz., that where the guilty are, there punishment shall find them; or, in other words, the guilty are sure to be overtaken by the Divine punishment. (Compare Luke 17: 37. Neander.) When this catastrophe shall have taken place, then, *immediately after* (εὐθέως μετά) this affliction, there shall be distress and anxiety, and the shaking of the powers of heaven, all which are to accompany and introduce our Lord's coming. The word εὐθέως means literally *straightway*, and implies a succession more or less direct and immediate; so that there can be no doubt, as De Wette justly remarks, that the coming of the Messiah, as here described by Matthew, was *straightway* to follow the destruction of Jerusalem. Indeed no meaning can possibly be assigned to εὐθέως which will admit of any great delay; much less of an interval so enormous as that between the destruction of the Holy City and the end of the world, as understood by us. From

this it is manifest that the "coming" of Christ here spoken of, as occurring *after* the downfall of Jerusalem, could not be meant to refer solely to that event.

III. Our Lord himself limits the interval within which Jerusalem shall be destroyed and his "coming" take place, to that same generation: "*Verily, verily, I say unto you, This generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled.*" The language is here plain, definite, and express; it cannot be misunderstood, nor perverted. It follows, in all the Evangelists, the annunciation of our Lord's "coming," and applies to it in them all, just as much as it applies to the antecedent declarations respecting Jerusalem; and more directly, indeed, inasmuch as it stands here in a closer connection.

But what is the meaning of the phrase, "this generation"? and what the interval of time thus designated? The specification is, and must be, at any rate, indefinite; for the tide of human life flows on in an unbroken stream, and no man can mark or tell the point where one generation ends and another begins. Yet modern chronology, with some degree of definiteness, reckons three generations in a century; and thus allows to each an in-

terval of thirty-three and a third years ; or, more loosely, from thirty to forty years. The ancient Hebrews, on the other hand, appear to have counted a *hundred* years to each generation. God said to Abraham, that his seed should be afflicted in Egypt four hundred years ; but that in the *fourth generation* they should return to the Promised Land. (Gen. 15 : 13-15 ; comp. Exod. 12.)

In which of these senses is the above expression of our Lord to be understood ? If in the former, then certainly the destruction of Jerusalem, which is usually held to have occurred in A. D. 70, took place within the time thus generally specified ; that is, within an interval of less than forty years after our Lord's passion. But of the events which were to follow that catastrophe, we know of none that can be referred to the same interval. The destruction of the city itself occurred at the very last point of time that can be reckoned to that generation thus understood ; and no events of importance in Jewish history took place for quite a number of years afterwards.

But our Lord was speaking in a popular manner, and would naturally employ expressions in their most popular sense. He did not mean to

point out definitely the exact time when this or that event was to take place. He says himself immediately afterwards: "Of that day and hour knoweth no one, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only." It seems necessary, therefore, to understand the word "generation," as thus used by our Lord, in its largest sense, and in accordance with popular Hebrew usage, as implying a hundred years. But this again must not be construed too definitely: it is rather a general expression, designating time by a reference to the duration of human life; and is apparently neither more nor less than equivalent to our mode of expression, when we say: "There are those now born, who will live to see all these things fulfilled!" Our Lord himself, in another passage, relating to the same subject, presents the same idea in this very form: "Verily I say unto you, there be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom."

IV. The question now arises whether, under these limitations of time, a reference of our Lord's language to the day of judgment and the end of the world, in our sense of these terms, is possible? Those who maintain this view attempt to dispose

of the difficulties arising from these limitations in different ways. Some assign to *εὐθέως* the meaning *suddenly*, as it is employed by the Seventy in Job 5:3. But even in *this* passage the purpose of the writer is simply to mark an immediate sequence, to intimate that another and a consequent event happened forthwith. Nor would any thing be gained, even could the word *εὐθέως* be thus disposed of, so long as the subsequent limitation to "this generation," remained. And in this, again, others have tried to refer *γενεὰ* to *the race of the Jews*; or, *to the disciples of Christ*, not only without the slightest ground, but contrary to all usage and all analogy. All these attempts to apply force to the meaning of the language are in vain, and are now abandoned by most commentators of note. Two or three general views, however, are current on the subject, which demand some further remark.

One is that of De Wette and others, who do not hesitate to regard our Lord as here announcing that the coming of the Messiah to the judgment of the last day would take place immediately after the fall of Jerusalem. This idea, according to De Wette, is clearly expressed by our Lord, both here

and elsewhere; and was likewise held by Paul. (See Matt. 16: 28; also 1. Cor. 15: 51-9; 1. Thess. 4: 15-39). But as the day of judgment has not yet come, it follows, either that our Lord, if correctly reported, was himself mistaken, and spoke here of things which he knew not; or else that the sacred writers have not truly related his discourse. The latter horn of this dilemma is preferred by De Wette. According to him the disciples entertained the idea of their Lord's return with such vividness of faith and hope, that they overlooked the relations of time, which Jesus himself had left indefinite; and they thus connected his final coming immediately with his coming to destroy Jerusalem. They give here, therefore, their own conception of our Lord's language, rather than the language itself as it fell from his lips. They mistook his meaning; they acted upon this mistake in their own belief and preaching; and in their writings have perpetuated it throughout all time.

This view is of course incompatible with any and every idea of inspiration on the part of the sacred writers; the very essence of which is, that they were commissioned and aided by the Spirit to impart truth to the world, and not error. To a

believer in this fundamental doctrine no argument can here be necessary, nor in place, to counteract the view above presented. To state it in its naked contrast with the divine authority of God's word, is enough.

But there may well be a further inquiry here raised, viz., whether there was in fact, in the minds of Paul and other apostles and early Christians, so strong an expectation of the speedy coming of Christ to judgment as is thus assumed? The main passage on which this assumption is made to rest is the very one now under consideration; which in this way is first employed to demonstrate the existence of such an expectation; and then that expectation is assumed to sustain this interpretation of the passage. In respect to Paul, reference is made to his language in 1. Cor. 15: 51, et seq., and 1. Thess. 4: 15; where, in speaking of our Lord's final coming, he uses the first person of the plural: "*we* shall not all sleep;" "*we* who are alive," etc. The inference drawn by some is, that Paul expected the coming of the judgment day in his own lifetime, so that he himself would be one of those who would then be alive and would be changed without seeing death. But nothing is more evident than

that the language of Paul here, as often elsewhere, may be understood merely as including himself and those to whom he was writing, as a portion of the great body of Christians of the church universal in all ages, the dead as well as those living at our Lord's coming. So Chrysostom and others, and even De Wette, regard it as certain that the phrase, "we shall all be changed," referred both to the dead and the living. And further, it would seem that Paul's language addressed to the Thessalonians had, in fact, been so understood by some as to imply the near approach of the judgment day; and therefore the apostle, in his second Epistle, takes occasion expressly to warn them against any such misapprehension of his words: "Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together—with him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by Spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand." The very application of his language now (as then) made, the apostle here protests against. In the face of this protest, I do not see how we can well affirm that Paul regarded the final coming of our Lord as an event which was speedily to take

place. That it was already so regarded by some, is evident from the apostle's teaching to the contrary ; and that the idea continued in the Church, and was occasionally current in the early centuries, is matter of history. Yet for this, not the teachings of our Lord and his apostles, but the suggestions of human fancy, are responsible.

Another form of the same general view is that presented by Olshausen. He too refers the verses of Matthew under consideration directly to the final coming of Christ, but seeks to avoid the difficulty above stated by an explanation derived from the alleged nature of prophecy. He adopts the theory broached by Hengstenberg, that inasmuch as the vision of future things was presented solely to the mental or spiritual eye of the prophet, he thus saw them all at one glance as present realities, with equal vividness and without any distinction of order or time,—like the figures of a great painting without perspective or other marks of distance or relative position. “The facts and realities are distinctly perceived ; but not their distance from the period, nor the intervals by which they are separated from each other.” Hence our Lord, in submitting himself to the laws of prophetic vision, was

led to speak of his last coming in immediate connection with his coming for the destruction of Jerusalem ; because in vision the two were presented together to his spiritual eye, without note of any interval of time. Not to dwell here upon the fact, that this whole theory of prophecy is fanciful hypothesis, and appears to have been since abandoned by its author ; it is enough to remark that this explanation admits, after all, the same fundamental error, viz., that our Lord did mistakenly announce his final coming as immediately to follow the overthrow of the Holy City. Indeed, the difficulty is even greater here, if possible, than before ; because, according to the former view, the error may be charged upon the report of the Evangelists, while here it can only be referred to our Lord himself.

It may, indeed, be further asked, whether the limitation to "this generation" in v. 34, may not be referred solely to the prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, ending with v. 28 ; and then verses 29-31 be understood of the general judgment without being affected by this limitation ? The reply to this question has already been given under our third head above. The limitation has a clear

and distinct reference to *all* the events foretold in the previous discourse ; and therefore, as Lightfoot says, "it is hence evident enough, that the preceding verses are not to be understood of the last judgment, but of the destruction of Jerusalem."

V. We come now to our last preliminary inquiry, viz.—Whether the language of Matthew in vs. 29-31 is in fact applicable to merely civil and political commotions and revolutions ? and whether the solemnity and strength of the language, and the grandeur and pomp of the mode of representation, do not necessarily imply a catastrophe more general and more awful than the fall of a single city, or the subversion of a feeble people ? Can it be, then, that the language of these verses should refer merely to the destruction of Jerusalem or of the Jewish nation ?

Not to dwell here upon the well-known facts, that the language of the Orient, and especially of the Hebrew prophets, is full of the boldest metaphors and the sublimest imagery, applied to events and things which the manner of the Occident would describe without figure and in far simpler terms, it will be sufficient to show that similar language is employed both in the Old and New Testa-

ments on various occasions arising out of changes and revolutions in the course of human events; and especially in respect to the judgments of God upon nations. We will take the verses in their order.

Verse 29. Here it is said, that *after* the preceding tribulation, the darkness of the sun and moon, the falling of the stars, and the shaking of the powers of heaven, are to be the harbingers of the Lord's coming. "The powers of heaven" are the sun, moon and stars, "the host of heaven" of the Old Testament. Now that the very same language, and the same natural phenomena are employed in other places to mark events in human affairs and to announce God's judgments, is apparent from the following passages.

In Isaiah, chap. 13, woes and judgments are denounced against Babylon. In v. 9 it is said "the day of the Lord cometh to lay the land desolate;" and in v. 10 the following signs and accompaniments are pointed out: "For the stars of heaven and the constellations thereof shall not give their light; the sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine."

In Isaiah, chap. 34, similar woes and judg-

ments are proclaimed against Idumea,—see vs. 5, 6. The prophet in v. 2 describes “the indignation of the Lord upon all nations . . . he hath utterly destroyed them ;” and in v. 4 he continues : “ And all the host of heaven (Sept. *δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν*) shall be dissolved ; and the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll ; and all their host shall fall down, as the leaf falleth off from the vine, and as the withered leaf from the fig-tree.”

In Ez. 32 the prophet takes up a lamentation for Pharaoh, v. 2 ; in the succeeding verses his destruction is foretold ; and then the prophet proceeds in v. 7 as follows : “ And when I shall put thee out, I will cover the heaven, and make the stars thereof dark ; I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give her light. All the bright lights of heaven will I make dark over thee, and set darkness upon thy land, saith the Lord God.”

In Joel. 2 : 30, 31 [3, 3. 4, Heb.] the very same phenomena are described as appearing “ before the great and terrible day of the Lord come.” In Acts, 2 : 19, 20, this passage is quoted by the Apostle Peter, and applied directly to the great events which were to accompany the introduction of the

new dispensation,—including obviously the signs and wonders attendant upon the death and resurrection of our Lord; the outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost and upon the churches afterwards; the spread and establishment of Christianity; and the final termination of the Mosaic dispensation in the subversion of the temple-worship, and the irretrievable ruin of the Jewish nation.

These examples are enough to show that the language of the verse under consideration may well be in like manner understood as symbolic of the commotions and revolutions of states and kingdoms. In respect to the other two Evangelists, the words of Mark are entirely parallel to those of Matthew; while Luke interweaves a further allusion to terrestrial phenomena, and to the distress and faintness of heart among men “for fears and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth.”

Verse 30. After the phenomena described in the preceding verse, is to appear “the sign of the Son of Man in heaven.” This of course is not the Messiah himself, as some assume; but it would seem to be something immediately connected with

his personal appearance,—perhaps the dark clouds and tempest, the thunders and lightnings, which are ascribed as the usual accompaniment of a Theophania, and in which the Redeemer is at first shrouded—(see Ps. 18: 11-14.) Then the Son of Man himself is seen “coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory.” Can this magnificent and awful representation have reference merely to events in the world’s past history?

Let this question also be answered by an appeal to the Old Testament. There Jehovah is represented as appearing in a similar manner, both for the judgment of the wicked and the protection of the righteous.

Thus in Ps. 97: 2, seq: “Clouds and darkness are round about him,—a fire goeth before him, and burneth up his enemies round about,” etc.

So, too, in respect to particular nations. In Isaiah 19: 1, it is said: “Behold the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud, and shall come into Egypt; and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence,” etc.

In like manner, Ps. 68 is the description of a continued Theophania, in behalf of the people of Israel: see vs. 1, 2; 7, 8; 17, 18; 33, 35.

The same sublime imagery is likewise employed in Ps. 18 (see also II. Sam. chap. 22) in describing God's appearance for the deliverance of an individual—his chosen servant David. A passage more full of poetic sublimity and overpowering grandeur can hardly be found in the sacred writings than is contained in vs. 7-15 of that Psalm. The application of it to David follows immediately in v. 16: "He sent from above, he took me, he drew me out of many waters," etc.

If then language of this kind relating to Jehovah is employed in the Old Testament, with reference both to nations and to individuals, we surely are authorized to apply the like representation of the New Testament to an event so important in the Divine economy as the overthrow of God's own peculiar people, and the chosen seat of their national worship.

The source of the particular form of representation in v. 30 is doubtless the seventh chapter of Daniel. There in vs. 13, 14, the prophet says: "I saw in the night visions, and behold, one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations and lan-

guages should serve him ; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away ; and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." Here then is the Messiah, coming not for the day of judgment, but to introduce his spiritual kingdom upon earth. Analogically, therefore, the like language of our Lord in the verse before us must be understood in the same way, and not made to refer to the day of judgment.

Verse 31. Hosts of angels and the sound of the trumpet belong to the Christophania here and elsewhere, as also to the Theophania. Here, too, it is said : "He shall send his angels (v. 31), and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds ;" the same is affirmed in the corresponding verse of Mark. This "gathering," it has been thought, can refer only to the assembling of all nations for the final judgment, as more fully depicted in Matt. 25 : 31, et seq., and also as implied in the explanation of the parable of the tares in Matt. 13 : 40, seq. But on comparing the modes of expression in the two cases, they do not appear to be parallel. Here the angels simply "gather together the *elect* ;" there (in 25 : 32) "all nations" are gathered before him,—elect and *non*-elect, and the

wicked are then separated from the righteous (see also Matt. 13:41,43). The idea of such a separation before the judgment seat is indeed essentially connected with every representation of the day of judgment, and cannot be separated from it. Why then are only the elect here said (in v. 31) to be gathered together? Nothing of the kind is expressed or implied in the passage itself; nor is it elsewhere ever said of the elect, that they alone will be "gathered together," to the judgment of the great day.

But the idea of "gathering together" those widely dispersed, sometimes includes also the accessory notion of *deliverance and protection*, as the end and purpose of the act. Thus it is said of Jehovah that "he gathereth together the outcasts of Israel" (Ps. 147: 2; Deut. 30: 3); he will gather them out of all lands whither they are scattered, will deliver them from all dangers, and secure to them his protection. So too our Lord, in his touching lament over Jerusalem, exclaims; "How often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not." Here the idea of deliverance and protection is strongly prominent. Now this idea we may apply in the verse under consideration.

In the commotions and distress antecedent to our Lord's coming for the destruction of the Jewish state he will send his angels "to gather together his elect," so that they may be delivered and protected from the dangers which threaten them. Indeed, precisely this idea is strongly expressed by Luke in the parallel verse: "And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads; *for your redemption draweth nigh.*"

We come then to the general result, that the language of the three verses under consideration does not necessarily apply to the general judgment; while the nature of the context shows that such an application is wholly inadmissible. On the other hand, there is nothing in the language itself to hinder our referring it to the downfall of Judaism and the Jewish people; but rather both the context and the attendant circumstances require it to be understood of these events.

In further illustrating the language of our Lord as thus applied, I would remark, that "his coming," as he foretold, includes as its object not only the overthrow of the Jewish nation, but also the establishment and spread of his own spiritual

kingdom upon earth. This is clearly indicated in the words of Daniel, as above cited ; and also in those of Joel, as cited and applied by the apostle Peter (Dan. 7 : 13-4 ; Acts 2 : 16, seq). The latter prophecy began to have its fulfilment in the signs and wonders attendant upon our Lord's death and resurrection, and in the outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost ; but it was fully accomplished only in the later catastrophe of Jerusalem and Judaism. The tenacity with which that people clung to the outward rites and ceremonies of the Mosaic dispensation, to the worship of the temple, and to their hopes of restoration and exaltation under a temporal Messiah, as also their fierce and unrelenting opposition to the claims of the lowly Jesus, —all this was the first great and prominent obstacle to the introduction and prevalence of his spiritual reign. This was at that moment the great enemy to be vanquished ; and the downfall of this opposing power was to be the triumph and the establishment of the Messiah's kingdom. Both these great results, therefore, were to be accomplished by this his coming (see also Matt. 16 : 27).

The destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple, although standing out as a prominent catastro-

phe in this great series of events, was yet not the only one, and perhaps not the most important. Through the minute and vivid description of Josephus, who was himself an actor and an eye-witness in all those scenes of blood and desolation, the fall of the Holy City has been brought out before the world for all time with a distinctness and prominence, greater, perhaps, than any other like event of ancient history. Hence it has become the great central point in the later history of the Jews; and thus has overshadowed and shut out from view the slighter notices of other events,—in themselves perhaps not of less moment, but which have not been recorded by the graphic pen of a native historian. In this way the overthrow of the Jewish capital and temple has come to be regarded as the final catastrophe of the nation; after which their existence and name, as a nation, were utterly blotted out. Hence the frequent application of our Lord's prediction to this event alone.

But such was not, in fact, the case. The destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, although terrible, was nevertheless not total. The city slowly revived. The Jews in Palestine, though reduced completely to the condition of a Roman province, were not

driven out from their own land. The chief men, indeed, were allured to Rome; or they found employment elsewhere; but the merchant in his shop, and the husbandman at his plough, were not interrupted in their labors. Yet we cannot suppose that the national hatred towards the Roman yoke was laid aside. Under the reign of Trajan, insurrections broke out among the Jews of Cyrenaica and Egypt, which were soon quelled. Fifty years after the ruin of Jerusalem, Adrian began to rebuild the city, in order to convert it into a heathen capital; and probably also with a view to render it a stronghold for keeping in check the national spirit of the Jewish people. This new attempt served as a spark to kindle the long smothered embers of hatred and discontent; and caused them to burst forth into a flame, which overran and consumed both the land and the people with terrible desolation. The leader was the celebrated Barcochba, "Son of a Star." His success at first was great; he soon obtained possession of Jerusalem, and of no less than fifty fortified places, and one hundred and eighty-five important villages. Adrian at length awoke from his lethargy, and troops poured in upon Judea from the remotest quarters

of the empire. The Jews were harassed and worn out by degrees; and the bloody tragedy was at length brought to a close at the unknown city of Bether, in the eighteenth year of Adrian, A. D. 135. Thousands and thousands of the captives were sold as slaves at the Terebinth near Hebron, at Gaza, and in Egypt. By a decree of Adrian the Jews were forbidden thenceforth even to approach the Holy City; and guards were stationed to prevent them from making the attempt. This severe decree probably included, or at least effected, the removal of the Jewish inhabitants from Judea. Two centuries later, we find Tertullian speaking of them as still deprived even of a stranger's right to set foot upon their paternal soil. It was not until the days of Constantine, in the fourth century, that they were first allowed again to approach the Holy City, and at length to enter it once a year, and buy the privilege of wailing over the ruins of their former sanctuary.

Such is an outline of the great *final* catastrophe of the Jewish people, as it can be collected from the few scattered notices found in ancient foreign writers. These few fragments have been collected and arranged by Münter (already quoted largely in

previous pages of this volume). Had there been a Josephus to give us a history of this war with equal completeness and graphic power,—who can say that the catastrophe, in its magnitude and its horrors, would seem to us in any degree to come short of that of Jerusalem ?

After these illustrations I may sum up here in a few words the views suggested to my own mind in respect to the discourse of our Lord under consideration. In reply to the question of the four disciples—"When shall these things be?" Jesus first points out what was to happen after his departure,—the trials and dangers to which his followers would be exposed. Then comes "the abomination of desolation;" Jerusalem is "compassed by armies," and is "trodden down by the Gentiles;" all this referring to its desolation by Titus in A. D. 70. Immediately afterwards the Lord would come and establish more fully his spiritual kingdom, by crushing in terrible destruction the last remnants of the power and name of Judaism; and this within the general limit of a generation of a hundred years from the time when he was speaking. There might therefore, literally, have been some then "standing there, who did not

taste of death till they saw the Son of Man (thus) coming in his Kingdom." Then it was when this first great foe of the Gospel dispensation was to be thus trampled down, that Christians were to look up. "Then look up, and lift up your heads; for your redemption draweth nigh." The chains of religious despotism, and the terrors of Jewish persecution, would then be at an end for ever; and the disciples of Christ, thus far disenthralled and triumphant, might rejoice in the prevalence of the Gospel of peace and love,—which was the coming of Christ's spiritual kingdom upon the earth.

I will here add a few remarks upon the remaining part of our Lord's discourse in the 24th and 25th chapters of Matthew. It is well known that commentators differ in respect to what portions of this discourse are to be referred to the destruction of Jerusalem, and what to the judgment-day; and also as to where the one topic ends and the other begins. Thus Doddridge finds the transition from the former to the latter event in Matt. 24:36; Flatt and Kuinoel place it at v. 43; Eichhorn, in chap 25:14; and others, as Wetstein, not until chap. 25:31.

All interpreters, of any name, I believe, are

agreed that the vivid representation in Matt. 25: 31-46, has reference only to the day of final judgment. Perhaps an exception may be found among some in this country, who deny the doctrine of future punishment. But it cannot well be otherwise than evident to every candid mind that if the doctrine of a future judgment day be found at all in the N. T. it is prominently and expressly asserted in this passage,—a day when all flesh shall rise from the dead and be gathered before the omniscient Judge ; when the righteous shall be separated from the wicked ; and every one be rewarded, or punished, according as his works shall be. The same general view is taught also by our Lord in his exposition of the parable of the tares, and in his teaching as recorded by John (Matt. 13 : 40-43 ; John 5 : 28, 29). It is found also in Daniel (12 : 2), and is more fully developed in the writings of Paul and in the Apocalypse. Paul often dwells upon the mighty theme : “ For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ,” etc. (II. Cor. 5 : 10.) In the sublime visions of the Apocalypse, the writer “ saw the dead, small and great, stand before God ; and the books were opened and the dead were judged,” etc. (Rev. 20 : 12 seq., 22, 12, etc.)

With all these representations the language before us, in chap. 25 : 31–46, is perfectly accordant ; nor is there any thing either in the circumstances or in the context, to lead us on any philological or historical grounds to a different interpretation of the passage. The 46th verse of itself decides this point : “ And these [the wicked] shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal.” There is no possible way of evading the force of this antithetic declaration, which on the face of it relates to the eternal destiny of mortals as fixed by the judgment day, except by denying the idea of endless duration ascribed to the word *αἰώνιος*, in respect both to future punishment and to future life. This is said to be done by some, who denying the doctrine of a state of retribution in another world, refer this whole passage to the destruction of Jerusalem ; and are thus ready to barter away the hope of a future life of glory, in order to get rid of the terrors of a future state of punishment. According to them, in this verse, both the condemnation and the promise respect only to this life ; and then it follows, *that the life of man, or three-score years and ten, is LIFE ETERNAL.* I am unable to see why this is not in

the strictest sense of the term, both philologically and theologically, a *reductio ad absurdum*.

This whole passage, then, I hold without doubt to refer to the general judgment.

Let us now go back to the preceding parable, that of the talents, in Matt. 25 : 14–30. Here the awful scenes of the dread tribunal are not indeed depicted ; yet the subject is the same as before, the great doctrine of final retribution. Here it is the Master who returns after a long absence ; calls his servants to an account ; invites those whom he finds worthy to the splendid banquet of rejoicing prepared to celebrate his return ; while he casts out the unfaithful servant into outer darkness and woe. The whole description is entirely consonant to that of the judgment day which follows ; and is not analogous to any representation of the N. T. having reference merely to matters of this life.

If we go back now still further to the parable of the Ten Virgins (Matt. 25 : 1–13), we shall find, I think, that it is the great object of the parable to inculcate the same important truth, the acceptance or non-acceptance of those professing to be the followers of Christ, according to their several characters and deserts,—their admission or non-admission

to the state of future bliss in the kingdom of God, here depicted under the imagery of a marriage-festival. The same idea of future bliss to the righteous is expressed by the same imagery in the Apocalypse: "Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage-supper of the Lamb" (Rev. 19: 7-9). Along with this great idea there is also strongly inculcated in this parable the necessity of a constant preparation, with reference to the future judgment and its dread account; since no man knoweth when the Lord will call him to enter upon this state of retribution.

Thus far, then, there seems to be no reason why the three different representations contained in chap. 25 should be separated, or not all referred alike to the transactions of the last great day.

If now we look at the latter portions of the preceding chap. 24: 43-51, we find it intimately connected with the parable of the Ten Virgins; so closely, indeed, that the idea of separating the two has apparently never occurred to any interpreter. We have here the same great lesson inculcated,—the necessity of continual watchfulness in the performance of duty, under the imagery of servants waiting for their master's return; who then will

reward the faithful, and punish the slothful and wicked. The punishment, it may here be noted, is expressed in terms similar to these employed in respect to him who hid his lord's talent, in chap. 25:30. All this seems to furnish a sufficient ground, why we should regard this passage also as having been spoken with reference to the future judgment.

There now remains to be considered only the passage in Matt. 24:36-42. Our Lord, after declaring that his coming to destroy the Jewish nation would take place before that generation should pass away, goes on here to say that "of that day and hour knoweth no one, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only." This he illustrates by the example of the deluge; which, although long predicted by Noah, yet came suddenly and unexpectedly upon the men of that generation. Hence he urges upon his disciples the necessity of constant watchfulness, in order that, as Luke expresses it, "ye may be accounted worthy to escape all those things that shall come to pass, and to stand (i. e. be approved, not destroyed) before the Son of Man."

On this passage two remarks present them-

selves, which go to show that it is to be connected with what precedes, rather than with what follows; and is therefore to be taken as referring to the overthrow of Jerusalem and the Jews.

First, both the grammatical and logical connection of the language itself require it to be so referred. The very expression "that (*ἐκείνη*) day and hour" can mean nothing but the day and hour of which our Lord had been speaking, viz., that "coming" of his which should take place before that generation should pass away. It is that coming which would be so sudden; for as yet he had here described no other, and therefore his words could apply to no other.

Secondly, it is somewhat remarkable, that throughout this whole discourse of our Lord thus far (to v. 42), from his departure out of the temple, and through his whole prediction relative to his then immediate coming, the Evangelists Mark and Luke both give parallel reports, serving alike to confirm and to illustrate the language of Matthew; while at this very point (v. 42) their reports cease. All that follows in this and the next chapter is here given by Matthew alone. Mark no where has any thing corresponding. Luke indeed gives the sub-

sequent charge to watch (vs. 43-51) in a different place and connection ; and also elsewhere the parable of the talents (Luke 12 : 39, seq. The parable of the talents is found in Luke 19 : 12, seq.). But the parable of the Ten Virgins and the description of the last day, are found only in Matthew. All this goes to show that Mark and Luke intended to report the language now under consideration as connected with what precedes ; inasmuch as they give nothing further. It goes also to show that they regarded the discourse of our Lord, up to this point, as a whole, having reference to his coming for the overthrow of Judaism ; and also that the subject, which thus far was one, was here completed.

It follows, then, that our Lord, as further reported by Matthew, here takes up (with v. 43) a new topic ; which thus apparently begins, as it evidently ends, with the enforcement of the duty of watchfulness upon all, in reference to the terms of their acceptance with God, and of their admission to the Messiah's kingdom, when he shall come to judge the world, and reign in bliss and glory.

PART IV.

LET us sum up the considerations, then, that go to prove the "Second Catastrophe" in as few words as possible. The disappearance of the Jewish nation, at the time and in the manner already described, cannot be reasonably questioned. They were in being at the time Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus, in number about six millions. That number was not greatly diminished in that war. With about that number it commenced the stormy and disastrous period of sixty-five years which immediately followed, at the end of which not one million of souls can be found. This state of things must have been as distinctly seen, and as fully known by the Saviour when on the Mount of Olives, conversing with his disciples, as was the first catastrophe—the destruction of the city and temple by Titus. Would it not be, therefore, a most injurious and unjust reflection upon our Saviour's character to suppose that he would inform

the disciples of the first series, and not of the last, of these calamities, especially since the last series was incomparably the more disastrous?

Again, no reasonable construction can be put upon Matt. 24: 29-46, but that which involves just this result. The event to which we referred was to take place within one hundred years of the time when he was speaking (A. D. 33), and that nation fought its last battle A. D. 135. The Lord Jesus Christ, in adopting the imagery which we find him using in Matt. 24: 29-31, evidently intimates that the ancient prophets for nearly a thousand years pointed to this national catastrophe. And, finally, such a catastrophe was in harmony with the decisions of divine wisdom and justice. That nation, more honored than any other, in that it had given birth to the Messiah, had committed the greatest sin that any nation could be guilty of in "crucifying the Lord of life and glory." The wisdom and the justice of God are therefore conspicuous in the terrible punishments to which, as we have seen, that guilty nation was, as a nation, subjected in the first and the second century.

Our last argument in favor of the interpretation we have maintained, is derived from the prophetic

portions of the Book of Daniel, and from the Apocalypse.

It is an important fact that no two commentators, with whom we are acquainted, have ever agreed in the interpretation of the prophetic parts of these two Books. This want of agreement may be referred in the main to two causes. The first we believe to be a want of attention to the fact that the authors of those books wrote under extreme restraint. Both were in exile and in bondage. It was known to both as an absolute certainty, that if what they wrote were to be understood as applicable, either directly or indirectly, to the times in which they lived, or to the powers which held them in bondage, their lives, however important to their country and to Christianity, would certainly be forfeited. Hence they adopted the method of writing in cipher: that is, they employed arbitrary, and in general unknown, terms, in the communication of their thoughts. What they designed to communicate to their own nation and to their own times would be readily understood by the people for whom they wrote, while to their deadly enemies, in whose power they were, the language would be obscure, if not unintelligible, though it referred most directly

to themselves. In confirmation of this, the reader is referred to Dan. 12: 10—"None of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand;" the term *wise* being used by the prophet to designate those who are truly the people of God (v. 3).

Nor is there any thing wrong in this manner of writing, if we look at the circumstances in which those men were placed. They both knew with absolute certainty that if they came out and distinctly announced the names and characters to whom they referred, it would unquestionably cost them their lives. This is especially true of the writer of the Apocalypse. Daniel has expressly affirmed that he "heard but he understood not" (v. 8), so important was it that his message to the people of God should be faithfully delivered, yet couched in language which their enemies could not decipher, that it is delivered even to Daniel in that character. *He* could not tell what was the import of those singular designations of time, such as are recorded in ch. 12: 11-12—"And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days"—three years and a half, or very nearly. "Blessed

is he that waiteth and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days,"—three years and two-thirds or more.

These designations of time are found to refer most accurately to that fearful war which put an end to the Jewish nation. "The daily sacrifice" would of course cease, as soon as the period had arrived for the nation *to die*; and "the abomination that maketh desolate" would be the divine announcement that that period had arrived.

The different visions granted to this prophet, as any one may see, are not recorded, in the book before us, in the order in which they obviously occurred. Those which announced the destruction of the Chaldean capital and the Chaldean nation were the *first* which he saw. From these the transition to the future condition of his own nation and people, inasmuch as there were many points that were strikingly analogous, became very natural and easy; so much so that Jerusalem itself came to be spoken of under the name of Babylon, especially in the Apocalypse.

But here I must request the reader to notice particularly the manner in which the prophet before us unquestionably refers to the coming of Christ,

and to the signs and wonders which announced his advent (chap. 7: 13)—“I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like to the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven.” Then, mark the manner in which Christ himself refers to this declaration, Matt. 24: 29, 30—“Immediately after the tribulation of those days, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light: and they shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory.” Can there be any doubt that both these passages refer to one and the same event. The Lord Jesus Christ must be regarded as a correct expounder of Scripture. If so, the vision which Daniel had, and which is recorded in the 7th chap. of Daniel, most clearly referred to the calamities which were coming upon the nation of the Jews, and which Christ declares should come “immediately after” the first catastrophe—the destruction of the city and temple by Titus. I feel compelled to regard this entire vision as having reference to those scenes and events which were to follow “immediately” upon the occurrence of this *first* visitation of the Son of Man—events which we have every where regarded as forming the second coming of Christ.

The effort of this prophet to conceal his full meaning from those enemies of God by which he was surrounded, while at the same time "the wise should understand," is not indeed as obvious as it is in the Apocalypse, where the writer regards himself as living on the very eve of those calamitous times. His complaints, that he cannot understand what he is obliged to utter, are very frequent, and, we may add, very sore. Not so with him who is an exile in the isle of Patmos; he thoroughly understands the vision. "Behold I come quickly" is at once apprehended, and he exclaims with rapture, "Even so come, Lord Jesus."

But Daniel must use the imagery which he has adopted throughout, in order that he may be permitted to say what he has seen in vision; and what he distinctly perceives has a direct reference, primarily, to the nation to which he and many of his people are in bondage. There is such a marked resemblance between Babylon on the eve of destruction, and Jerusalem when John wrote, that the records of the one may almost be taken for the other. But both are written under marked restraints. Despotism, enthroned in Chaldea, held the sword pointed at the heart of Daniel; and a bloody and

relentless tyrant stood ready to demand the execution of John, upon the utterance of the first sentence which could be fairly construed against the Roman power.

So distinct and evident is this feature in the 7th chapter especially, that infidelity has affirmed "it is in fact no prophecy, but history." Events that are here foretold so obviously accord with those which actually took place, that obstinate unbelief could find no other explanation than to say "the book is no prophecy, but a history; a record of events that had already taken place."

Let us look then a little more particularly at this 7th chapter of Daniel. The first six chapters are historical; easily understood, of course; while the other six are as evidently prophetic, and in their interpretation attended with great difficulty.

In following out the method which the prophet had adopted, he says, he "saw in a vision by night the four winds of heaven striving upon the great sea." The import of which seems to be that he saw all the then known world in strife for the mastery; the result of which was the appearance of "four great beasts that came up out of the sea." These are afterwards explained to be "four kings

which were to arise out of the earth." The first beast was "like a lion;" this was the Chaldean monarchy. The second was "like a bear;" this was the Persian. The third "like a leopard;" this was the Grecian. The fourth beast was like none he had even seen or heard of; it was one therefore to which he could give no name. There can be no doubt that here was the representation of the Roman empire.

The prophet says he was employed in observing these beasts "till the thrones were overturned and the Ancient of days did sit;" i. e. he was employed in contemplating this vision in reference to the beasts, till he saw "the king of kings and Lord of lords" ascend his throne, and proceed to gather around him the heavenly hosts, with a view to punish his enemies and protect his friends. The judgment here spoken of was evidently not the general judgment, as it is called—that which is gathered at the last day, but it is the period when, as he says in v. 13, he "saw in the night-visions one like unto the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven," to destroy the Jewish nation. Here notice that the same imagery is employed as that which our Saviour used in pointing out the "end of the age," or the second coming of the Son of Man.

When, in the explanation given by the angel (chap. 8:15-27) the "two horns upon the ram" are said to be "the kings of Media and Persia," we are to understand that these are taken as representations of that power which was to overthrow the nation of the Jews. The fearful catastrophe which awaited that unhappy people is still kept before them. Not one of the prophets that follow can close his mission without referring to a certain unknown period in the dark future, sometimes called "the day of the Lord," and sometimes, as in the passage before us, "the time of the end." Every one who was commissioned to "loose the seals of God's decrees, and gaze on things unknown" to common men, must speak of an approaching "*end*," as an event in which that nation, if not the world, was most deeply interested.

Nor have we a single vision in which, in some form or other, that power which was to overthrow the Jewish nation and bring them to that fearful end which awaited them is not mentioned. In fact "the burden of the word of the Lord" from this time forth, as it had been in the days of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah, was the demolition of that

stately structure which God had reared at such vast expense, and the establishment of a kingdom which should not be overthrown. But the chief instrument in the hands of God for the accomplishment of such a purpose, is every where referred to in terms that should have made the Jewish ear tingle. In the vision we have just considered (Dan. 7) this monster was so formidable that Inspiration itself durst not venture a description ; and in this which we are now considering he makes his appearance again, as one whose mission it was to “stand up” “when the transgressors are come to the full,” i. e. “when the cup of their iniquity is filled,” “a king of a fierce countenance,” and one “that understood dark sentences ;” whose mission would end in “destruction of the holy people.” His last and most heinous act would be, that he would “stand up against the Prince of princes.”

Now it may be confidently affirmed that no one ignorant of the portion of Jewish history given in preceding pages, can decide correctly as to the person here referred to. He may determine upon Antiochus Epiphanes, or Alexander, or any other one, but he will find that there are statements made concerning him which can not be reconciled

with any of these conclusions. On the contrary, when he opens the history we have quoted, and reads of Bar-cochba, "the Son of a Star," as he vainly called himself, he perceives at once that he has found the right man. The boundless wickedness of his whole life, the unutterable blasphemies which he sanctioned, and the gross deceptions which he practised upon the Jews, led them at length to change his name to Bar-coziba, "the Son of a Lie." He made his appearance among them at a time when they greatly needed an earthly leader, and he gained their confidence to an unlimited extent. But he betrayed that confidence. He led them into inextricable difficulties, and to the very verge of extermination.

Through all the visions that follow, even to the end of the prophecy, you may trace the history of that awful period which to the Jews was now approaching; a day drawing nigh, when, in the language of Christ, those were to be regarded as peculiarly blessed who should leave behind them no posterity. Select any one of these visions, and observe the imagery employed by the sacred writer—his metaphors, similes or illustrations, and you will find in the history we have given the per-

sonage or the event brought before you' in the prophecy. The four beasts that emerged from the great sea, brought into confusion and strife, are at first said to be kings; but they represent four of the chief persecutors or oppressors of the people of God which were to arise from that "great sea" of strife.

So strong is the current of divine influence which pressed upon the mind of Daniel, that, as he assures us, he sinks fainting and sick, and is unable to pursue his business for many days; for he was astonished at the vision, "but none understood it." Beginning with the prophet Isaiah, God had sought by every practicable method to turn the eye of his people to their approaching end; and, not until He had made his appearance for whom all things were created, did the Jews seem capable of understanding those events which plainly heralded their doom.

As we read the N. T. we are often astonished at the sluggishness of intellect or of heart which characterized the disciples, when listening to the instructions of the Saviour, concerning either his death, or the end of the age. But after his resurrection their faith and intelligence improved.

Then we find them believing that "the day of the Lord is at hand." Throughout the Epistles and the Apocalypse there is increasing evidence that they regard "the coming of the Lord Jesus" as at the door. And they seem as anxious to persuade the world that the day of the Lord draweth nigh, as the Saviour himself was to convince them of this truth they had been ready to believe him, if he would permit them to understand by the "day of the Lord," a day when "he would restore the kingdom to Israel;" but when he meant by his "coming" a day of judicial visitation—a day in which he should crush his enemies, whether Jew or Gentile, they could not understand him.

That sluggishness of heart which we complain of in the original disciples, has travelled down from that period to our own of the present day. Men seem as unwilling now to understand by his "coming" a visitation of wrath, as then. They have forgotten that "the day of the Lord" may not be desirable, especially to his enemies. While all the prophets adopt substantially similar imagery when speaking of the coming of Christ—imagery that implies a fearful catastrophe—the disciples of "Second Adventism" understand him as engaging to

spend a literal thousand years on the earth, personally going about and instructing his people, healing all diseases, removing all maladies, and thus preparing the way for the days of millennial glory.

The writer of the Apocalypse, when he ventures to name or designate the monster of whom he had been speaking, and on whom he had bestowed the title of "beast," he gives us the arithmetical number to which the letters composing his name will amount (666), and bids the reader find out by his learning who is meant. Had he affirmed in so many words that he meant Nero, or had he spoken of him in a way which could have been easily seen and understood as applicable to that monster, he would have written little afterwards. His life, so important to the people of God and to the age in which he lived, would not have been safe. He must write, therefore, as Daniel did, so that "the wise" alone (meaning his own people) can understand.

Another consideration, setting forth the difficulty attending a literal understanding of the word, is seen in what the author of the Apocalypse has left on record in respect to the New Jerusalem. The ancient city of that honorable name was fast

passing away, and he is permitted to see the New Jerusalem “coming down from God, adorned as a bride for her husband.” He describes this city—its foundations, its gates, each a separate part; its streets, pure gold, transparent as glass; its length, 12,000 furlongs (1,500 miles); its breadth, the same; and its height, the same. It is, therefore, a perfect cube, 1,500 miles on every side! This city is seen descending out of heaven, settling down upon the land of Palestine—a land, which in its greatest breadth measures but little over one hundred miles; yet this great city, *understood literally*, 1,500 miles on every side, in length, breadth and height, is seen coming down upon the land of Palestine.

We waste our time, however, in any attempt to refute a literal interpretation. The fact is plainly this: the advocates of this theory invariably adopt that principle only so far as it seems to suit their case, but when it begins to bear upon them unfavorably they are quite ready to abandon it and to adopt some other.

In the further discussion of this subject, we notice one feature, which, as it pervades the whole book, must be regarded as a very important one,

especially since Christ dwelt so much upon it. I refer to the declaration that *the time for the fulfilment of the prediction was near at hand*. In various forms the announcement is made that the evils predicted would soon be experienced. Even our Lord brings forward this assurance so frequently that we come to regard him as speaking of the brevity of human life, when he is obviously referring to a very different subject. The "coming of the Son of Man," how often does Christ compare it to the coming of a thief, i. e., unexpectedly, unlooked for, at a time of supposed security?

The appeal is now made to the reader to decide whether it is consistent with facts to admit that the events for which Christ and his apostles exhorted the men of their generation to look, and watch, and wait, as being near at hand, have not yet taken place. If the Second Adventist—the believer in a personal, actual coming of Christ, to reign with his people a thousand years before the Millennium—will here inform us of the view which he takes of this subject, we may be relieved. If he shall say that the prediction relates to the day of judgment—that day for which all days were made—we have a right to ask him to account for the declarations of Christ

that the generation then on earth should not pass away till all he had predicted should be fulfilled. Eighteen centuries have passed since those fearful words were uttered, and the judgment "is not yet." More than fifty generations—understood as we now use that term—have passed away, and the event which he assured us was at the door, has not yet made its appearance. Evidently he did not refer to the judgment.

On the other hand, the Second Adventist will not say that Christ has actually come, and personally been on the earth a thousand years, reigning with the saints. That catastrophe which was to be heralded by the "coming of the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven," has certainly not taken place, unless it occurred before the generation then on earth (calling a generation a hundred years) had passed away.

In perfect harmony with this is every allusion to that event, whatever it may be, both in the instructions of Christ and in the various Epistles. Not once do they refer to it without employing expressive terms to signify its near approach, and the importance of being prepared for it. The same course is pursued by the author of the Apoc-

alypse. If possible he is more explicit. His eye is ever turned on the future, as if he saw at no great distance an event which, in importance, should never be surpassed in the history of that nation and of the world. His last words are expressive of what he had sought to impress on the mind of the reader from the first ; and these are spoken as coming from the Lord Jesus himself : “ Behold I come quickly ; blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book. And he saith unto me, Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book, for the time is at hand. And behold I come quickly, and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be. He who testifieth these things, saith, Surely I come quickly : amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus.”

Now is it credible that such language as this should be employed in reference to an event which, for a certainty, we know must have been at least 1,800 years distant, if that event was what the Second Adventist makes it — a personal coming of Christ ? And, besides, what is the fitness of such solemn warnings to be ready for the coming of the Son of Man, if that is to be a most merciful visitation, viz., to dwell with his people here on earth a

thousand years, thus personally introducing the Millennium—an event greatly to be desired—not dreaded? The inference is unavoidable. Our Saviour referred to a very different event—one of frightful import to the Jewish nation and to the world, and which has been brought to view in the history already quoted. The demise of the Jewish nation, the coming of Christ to punish that nation *capitally*, is beyond all question the theme which is begun and pursued throughout the Apocalypse. The Jewish nation, in rejecting Christ, had filled up the measure of its iniquity. There was nothing wanting to complete its ruin when it cast its vote for Barabbas instead of Christ. The only service it could subsequently yield to the world, must be furnished in the death-throes of its approaching end. Hence the labors of the prophets, from Isaiah down, to prepare them for the day of the Lord; hence the repeated and solemn warnings of Christ to watch, and pray, and wait, with loins girt, and lamps trimmed, in hourly expectation of his speedy coming. Hence the labors of the writer of the Apocalypse, almost the first sentence of which is an assurance that the things which had been given to Jesus Christ to show unto his servants “must shortly

come to pass." And hence, we may add, whatever his theme in any part of his testimony, he fails not to warn that nation that the end draweth nigh.

What was that end? Was it the triumph of Christianity—the full and complete emancipation of the servants of God from the bondage of sin and from the oppressions of their bitter enemies? These events were indeed to take place, but they were not the main things in view. The advent of Him who is again announced as He "that cometh with clouds" was for a more terrible purpose than to remove from the power of the unbelieving Jew the victims of his relentless persecution. Hence he is summoned to anticipate such an event: "and every eye shall see Him, and they who pierced Him," and "all kindreds of the earth (*της γης*, the land) shall wail because of Him"—all the inhabitants of the land of Palestine. The whole book is to be regarded as a prophetic announcement of the end of the Jewish nation and polity—an end which was reached in the slaughter of five or six millions of that unhappy people in the course of a single century, and was indicated in the prophetic warnings of our Saviour which are recorded in the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew, already considered.

“The loosing of Satan for a little season” refers to the last and most fearful rebellion of the Jews; and his going out to deceive the nations in the four quarters of the earth, to gather them together for battle, has been illustrated in the foregoing history of the Jews in the second century, as that bloody struggle which lasted three years and a half.

The nationality of the Jews being then completely destroyed, John next beholds the dead, small and great, before God; the books are opened; and all are judged; the sea gives up the dead which were in it; death and hell, the same; and every man is judged according to his works. All that were held in bondage of death and hell were cast into the lake of fire, and whosoever was not found written in the book of life.

Thus a vision which embraced the Jews and their enemies for a little season, ends with the destruction of all who are the enemies of God, the rescue and safety of his people (the followers of Christ), and the end of all things here below. Like many a vision which was imparted to the prophets of the Old Testament, it begins with scenes which are intended to represent (or symbolize) those of the general judgment, ending with that fearful

day itself, in all its solemn and momentous consequences.

No subject was ever more mysterious than that which was presented to the mind of John. The nation which God had selected from the nations of the earth as the recipients of most distinguished favors,—from whence sprang the prophets and the Messiah himself,—that this nation should be subjugated by Pagans, be made “hewers of wood and drawers of water” to a nation of God’s enemies; that their city should be demolished, their temple desecrated and destroyed, and finally the nation itself blotted out of existence, was so contrary to the expectations of the Jews,—so wide from the career which the descendant of Abraham had marked out for himself and his people,—that he could not believe it. Other nations might be trodden down and destroyed, but surely God would not suffer His elect to be thus treated.

Nothing could be more probable therefore than a revelation, on the part of Heaven, of this great mystery. Hence the whole plan and development of the Apocalypse. John must write, as we have said, “in cipher.” The persecuting, relentless power, then grinding the nation to dust, must not

be named Roman, but under the figure of "the beast." The reckless impostor who was to lead the Jews in their last rebellion, and to their final ruin, must not be known in the record by his proper name, "Bar-cochba," as it was, but by that of "the false prophet." "The lake that burned with fire and brimstone" was simply the unutterable destruction into which the enemies of God and the persecutors of Christians were soon to be hurled, and was only emblematic of that future and eternal destruction that awaited the enemies of Christ.

The Second Adventist, therefore, who is looking for the literal and personal appearing of the Lord from heaven, is very much like the Jew waiting for the promised Messiah. He should be looking backwards, not forwards. Things that are past can be seen only by looking in that direction. The future promises the universal triumph of the Gospel—the spiritual reign of Christ, when "the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters do the seas." The Gospel has not yet proved a failure. The world is much better and much wiser than it was a century ago. All the great changes that have taken place in science,

literature, and art, are favorable to the progress of Christianity. We have shown that Christ, by his "coming," meant, in the first instance, his visitation for the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple; that in the second instance, "immediately after the tribulations" occasioned by this event, he designated the destruction of the Jewish nation; and in the third instance, "when he should come in the glory of the Father, with all the holy angels," it should be to judge the world. These are the three catastrophes to which he directed the attention of his disciples on the Mount of Olives. As two are past, one only remains—that of the Final Judgment. The writer and the reader will be there. Both shall then know that in respect to "the times and seasons" of which we have written, two of them have long since passed; while as to the third, or last, "THE END IS NOT YET."

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